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COOPER MEDICAL COLLEGE, FOUNDED BY
LEVI COOPER LANE
AN HISTORICAL SKETCH

HANS BARKAN, M.D.
San Francisco, California

GENEALOGY OF THE STANFORD UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF MEDICINE

MEDICAL DEPARTMENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE PACIFIC.*
Dr. Samuel Elias Cooper's original school. Sessions held in the
top story of Dr. Cooper's office near Mission and Third streets.

Death of Dr. Cooper.

Activities of the Medical Department of the University of the
Pacific suspended when Dr. Toland opens his school near Stockton
and Chestnut. Some of the faculty continue teaching at Dr. To-
land's school.

Medical Department of the University of the Pacific reorgan-
ized by Dr. Levi Cooper Lane. School located in a building near
the University (City) College on Stockton Street south of Geary.
St. Mary's Hospital available for clinical facilities.

Medical Department of the University of the Pacific severs
connections with the University of the Pacific, becoming the medi-
cal department of the University (City) College and formally
known as THE MEDICAL COLLEGE OF THE PACIFIC. Access to San
Francisco City and County Hospital gained.

COOPER MEDICAL COLLEGE founded by Dr. Levi Cooper Lane
with members of faculty of the Medical College of the Pacific. Last
class graduated from the latter. Medical School building at Sacra-
mento and Webster, built by Dr. Lane with personal funds,
opened. Additions to building in 1892. Lane Hospital opened in
1895.

Death of Dr. Lane.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY accepts Cooper Medical College as De-
partment of Medicine, complete control passing from the directors
of Cooper Medical College to the Trustees of Stanford University
in 1912.

* Now the College of the Pacific, Stockton, California.

1859

1862

1865

1870

1872

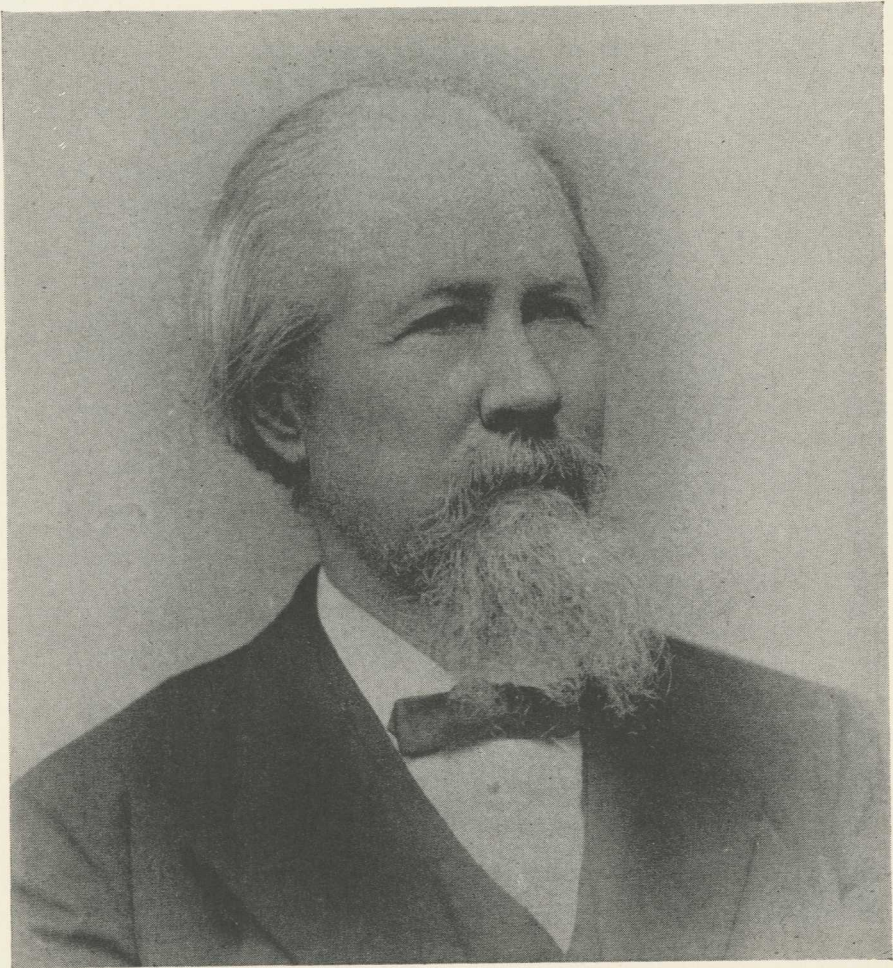
1882

1902

1908



DR. SAMUEL ELIAS COOPER
Founder of the Medical Department of the
University of the Pacific, 1822-62



DR. LEVI COOPER LANE
Founder of Cooper Medical College, 1830-1902

COOPER MEDICAL COLLEGE, FOUNDED BY LEVI COOPER LANE AN HISTORICAL SKETCH

HANS BARKAN, M.D.

San Francisco, California

A suggestion of Dr. Russel Lee that I write the story of Cooper Medical College is responsible for this paper. May he share with me, then, such criticism, or praise—if any—as may occur. This history of the Cooper Medical College is written with the thought that its graduates, now dwindling in number, and many of the graduates of the Stanford Medical School, founded and deeply influenced by the men originally connected with Cooper Medical College, will be interested in a backward look at its career.

An effort will be made to give the spirit and life of its founders and of some of the men associated with the college for many years, without too many dates and factual, but generally dry, statistics. As chronology is to some extent unavoidable in an historical review, I was delighted to discover the splendid thesis by Robert G. Whitfield, entitled "Historical Developments of the Stanford School of Medicine," which was submitted to the School of Education and the Committee of Graduate Study of Stanford University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, April 1949. This lightened my load tremendously and I herewith acknowledge my indebtedness gratefully; as also to Henry Harris' *California's Medical Story*, and to other references, a list of which will be found appended to this paper. In general, however, I have stuck to personal remembrances and to the writing of some of the Cooper faculty. As regards this last, I am very much indebted to Emmet Rixford, Jr., who showed me the personal notes of his father, which refer to the presidency of Dr. Charles Ellinwood and to his deposition by the Cooper faculty; an event especially important because of its bearing on the acquisition of Cooper Medical College, including Lane Library and its splendid collection, by Stanford University.

The minutes of the Cooper faculty meeting which deal with the deposition of Dr. Ellinwood are also now available, they having for many years been missing. They were found by Dr. Garnett Cheney among his father's books. His father, Dr. William Cheney, was secretary of the faculty, and often took the minutes home or to his office, in order to write them up meticulously. In them a letter of Dr. Ellinwood is spread on the minutes, and the original letter read to the Board of Directors is enclosed, shedding a new light on this unhappy controversy. The newspapers of February 21, 1907, fully reported the situation in interviews both with Dr. Ellinwood and his opponents, and I later quote them in part, in order to give the reader an idea of how important to the welfare of the school, as well as that of the city, this situation was regarded.

The cradle of what is today the Stanford Medical School was the University of the Pacific, a Methodist-Episcopalian college founded in 1851 and located at San Jose. The serious desire of the founding fathers to establish an institute of university grade is evident in their willingness to take on a school of medicine; with at least equal force the same may be said with reference to a proposed school of theology. In 1858 the Far West's first medical school, due to Dr. Elias Samuel Cooper's efforts, obtained its charter from the University of the Pacific, and on May 6, 1859, the formal opening of the Medical Department of the University of the Pacific took place (exercises being held in "Musical Hall"). The relationship of medicine and music has, since ancient Greek days, been a close one and it is appropriate that the formal opening took place there.

The first teaching body of this school was made up of J. Morrison, professor of principles of practice of medicine and pathology; Isaac

Rowell, professor of chemistry; R. Beverly Cole, professor of obstetrics and diseases of women and children, and physiology; E. S. Cooper, professor of anatomy and surgery; B. R. Carman, professor of materia medica; and the Hon. George Barstow, professor of medical jurisprudence; with R. Beverly Cole as dean.

There was naturally opposition to the Cooper school. It was roundly denounced in the *Pacific Medical and Surgical Journal* by the editor, Wooster, who ranked Cooper as charlatan, as follows:

A medical college was not yet needed here. There is no fund for the endowment of the college, and there are no students to attend the lectures, and there are no capable physicians who have the leisure and the philanthropy to deliver lectures gratis. Under such auspices the profession will readily appreciate into what hands the different departments of medical teaching must fall. It is painful to us to make any mention of this institution, because we love California and wish to be able to speak proudly of all her institutions. But, at the same time, we are not willing that the profession abroad should be deceived in this matter. The profession here understand it. We shall say nothing of the personal character or morality of the professors, for we believe a very bad man can be a very good scholar. Two of the corps of professors are gentlemen of liberal education and unexceptional character, both professionally and morally as far as we know, and students would profit by their teaching and example. Of two more we will say nothing. We have seen many worse men and more ignorant doctors.

We hope our Atlantic brethren will not be deceived: the Pacific Medical College is now a legitimized sham—a legal humbug—a chartered advertising medium for the man, of whose advertisements we have spoken above. The college is in his infirmary, and all the “appurtenances thereunto belonging.” We never knew a quack to reform. The temptation is too strong to be resisted after it has once been acted on. . . .

The abilities of the different professors is of little consequence, for they have only straw pupils.

During the second session the school was under attack both in regard to dissection and lack of a hospital in connection with the medical school. An evening paper printed several articles, such as the following:

HORRIBLE PRACTICES

We have been informed, on reliable authority, that the graves in the common lot, at Lone Mountain Cemetery, have been violated, and the dead bodies of those buried at the public expense, disinterred, for purposes of dissection! . . . We are not aware of any existing law to stop this robbery of the tombs and mangling of the dead, to satisfy the greedy maw of Science, but there should be one. And where is the difference between the dead poor and the wealthy dead? Are the bodies of the one more the property of the surgeons than those of the other class? No one can feel sure, while such things are going on, that the bones of the most honored dead, or those of dearly loved kindred, are allowed to rest in peace. Chinamen are said to be the agents employed—and, like vultures, these body-snatchers watch daily for their human prey. This is a matter that should be looked into by the Police, so that the desecration of the graves may be held up to public execration. Malediction, say we, upon the disturbers of the buried dead!

To this Cooper responded in part by the following:

The medical profession of the world has had but one genuine and professional Judas, and he chanced to turn up in San Francisco; so let us pass him round, and make the most of him. We will never have another. Such as his like has never been seen before. Need we name the miscreant? Everybody knows who the medical Judas is. We intend never to let his name disgrace our pages again.

Dr. Henry Gibbons, Sr., in his moderate and impartial fashion, ended at least one period of defamation by writing of the school in 1864:

This institution has reason to be proud of its career and of its Alumni. In its origin and early life it encountered opposition and hostility from nearly every quarter. It has received no public favor and no extrinsic aid from any source. Its sole reliance has been the industry and perseverance of its founders and their successors. But these have borne it through triumphantly, and established it on a firm basis. Its graduates can be designated, almost without exception, as honorable and successful members of their profession. A large proportion of them hold positions in the public service, and are making a record creditable to themselves and to their Alma

Mater. The course of instruction in this school is eminently practical. The students are drilled at the bedside in three extensive hospitals, where they have the benefit of the teaching and experience of a large number of the foremost physicians and surgeons in California.

Let us now see how well this little school really did: On September 13, 1859, the degree of Doctor of Medicine was conferred on 2 graduates; the faculty had in May 1859 matriculated 13 students. In the second session, May to September, 1860, 15 students were matriculated, and in September there was one graduate. The third session matriculated 17 students, and 5 more graduates plus another one from the second session received their degrees on March 14, 1861. The fourth session, November 1861 to March 1862, had almost twice the daily attendance of its previous ones and graduated 5 students on March 13, 1862. The fifth session had 22 students in attendance, Dr. Cooper's death at the age of forty occurring during the preliminary course of lectures in October 1862 and 8 men receiving their degrees in March 1863. There were 7 graduates in the sixth annual session, and the school appeared to be in a firm position. At this juncture, however, Dr. Toland announced instruction in his medical college beginning November 5, 1864. The faculty of the Medical Department of the University of the Pacific decided that two schools could not be sustained; rather than injure the character of the profession and lower the medical standards of education, they decided to suspend operations. From 1865 to 1870 Toland's school was the only existing medical institution. The faculty consisted of the one gathered by Toland and a second group consisting of Lane, Gibbons, and Morse from the former Medical Department of the University of the Pacific. The list at the opening was as follows: H. H. Toland, president, professor of principles and practice of surgery; James Blake, professor of obstetrics and diseases of women and children; J. Newton Brown, professor of anatomy; T. J. Edwards, professor of institutes of medicine; W. O'Ayer, professor of theory and practice of medicine; J. F. Morse, professor of clinical medicine and diagnosis; Thomas Benett, professor of general pathology; J. A. Lockwood,

professor of materia medica; Robert Oxland, professor of chemistry; and William A. Douglas, demonstrator of anatomy. By the time the school opened for instruction, however, Professor Henry Gibbons had replaced Lockwood and Professor L. C. Lane had taken Edwards' place in physiology. For several years all went well, but in 1870, simultaneously with the aspirations of Dr. Toland to have his school acceptable as the medical department of the state university, the resignations of Dr. Cooper's original group—Lane in anatomy, Price in chemistry, and H. Gibbons in materia medica—took place. The professors of the Dr. Cooper group who associated themselves with Dr. Toland's faculty in 1864 had joined, but never really belonged. Being disappointed with their alliance, they withdrew in June 1870, and opened their own school a month later. Back of this secession were the developing ambitions of Lane backed by Gibbons, together with their opposition to the university affiliation, upon which Toland was so intent. The new school, opened for instruction on July 5, 1870, was located on Stockton Street south of Geary next to the laboratories of the University (City) College. This latter institution was a Presbyterian college formed in 1860. To this institution the new school served as a medical department, as formerly it had performed a like service to the Methodist College of the University of the Pacific. The several names taken on by the young school and its allegiance to at least two different churches were so confusing to Cole of the *Western Lancet* as to inspire the following merry editorial: "In this somersault movement, its early graduates are left without an Alma Mater, and the faculty have likened themselves to Japhet who was so long in search of a father."

Much confusion existed at first as to the loyalties and alignments of certain teachers, but the following faculty list of 1871 seems to be correct: A. J. Bowie, emeritus professor of surgery and president of the faculty; J. F. Morse, emeritus professor of principles and practice of medicine; Henry Gibbons, professor of medicine and clinical medicine; L. C. Lane, professor of surgery, surgical anatomy, and clinical surgery; Edwin Bentley, professor

of descriptive and microscopic anatomy and pathology; Clinton Cushing, professor of obstetrics and diseases of women and children; C. N. Ellinwood, professor of physiology; L. C. Lane, acting professor of ophthalmology and otology; Thomas Price, professor of chemistry and toxicology; Henry Gibbons, Jr., professor of materia medica and therapeutics.

Henry Gibbons, Jr., was selected dean, an office he most efficiently and honorably occupied for over forty years. Slowly the clinical specialties were segregated under separate professorships; the earliest was the appointment of Adolph Barkan as professor of ophthalmology and otology in 1873. In 1870 there were but 3 graduates; in 1871 there were 7; and in 1876, competing with the school of the University of California, there was a neck-and-neck race, each school granting 20 diplomas. In October 1882, at a meeting of the Medical College of the Pacific, Dr. Levi Cooper Lane invited the members of the faculty to join him in launching a new medical school to be named Cooper Medical College.

Having chronologically but briefly traversed the ground from the inception of the first school in 1859 to the establishment of Cooper Medical College, a brief mention of some interesting and occasionally amusing statements in the medical school annual announcements of early years gives the spirit of the times. In the announcement of 1871 can be read: "This medical college was established twelve years ago by a few medical gentlemen, earnest in their desire for mutual improvement, anxious to increase their store of knowledge and, like true scientists the world over, ever willing—even eager—to impart their knowledge to others." And further on, in making their announcement for the coming course, the faculty desires to assure the profession and the public of the permanency of the undertaking. "Most of the professors are tried and successful teachers who take pride and satisfaction in imparting to others that knowledge which a large experience has given to them."

As one reads the statements of eighty-one years ago, one has good reason to admire the character of the medical men of that day. San Francisco was still a rough and tough community, a seaport of which the Barbary Coast

was known the world over, the Mother Lode days and Sutter's Fort not far in the past, and the duel between Terry and Broderick fought only a few years previously. No symphony or art gallery existed; no museum of natural sciences. These medical gentlemen felt a deep desire to do more than just private practice. An inner impulse of wishing to give something, inspired by the leadership of men like Cooper and Lane, induced them to give time and effort to the medical school, with no thought of increasing salaries or tenure, pensions or security. Out of most, if not all, of the pockets of the faculty of those days, more flowed into the enterprise than ever came out of it. There were certain advantages and they lasted for many years, for as they sent their students and office assistants out into the state, their fame spread as they taught. Difficult cases were referred to them from many parts of the state. Their pocketbooks grew with their fame, but, school or no school, they had the knowledge and working ability to prosper and in most cases to invest their earnings safely.

Returning to the announcements for a moment, how could a gentleman contemplating the study of medicine not be intrigued by the following (I should say, how could he choose any *other* school or city for his medical study?):

For purposes of dissection, no climate could be more suitable than San Francisco. Indeed, it offers peculiar advantages for the prosecution of this branch. The great objection to dissection in the summer months in the east is the rapidity with which decomposition takes place. Here we suffer no such disadvantage. There are no rains during the lecture months; the atmosphere is dry; the temperature rarely above 70 and ranging considerably below that and a strong breeze blows from the ocean from the forenoon until night. All these circumstances tend to retard decomposition and to prevent, in a measure, unwholesome effluvia and permit the cadaver, when properly prepared, to be kept an indefinite period.

All this was obtainable at the dissection room in a location adjoining the laboratory of the University (City) College and the medical lecture rooms on Stockton, south of Geary. The clinical material was at the city and

county hospital with over four hundred beds, and the announcement states that:

. . . the greatest advantages for obtaining a knowledge of venereal diseases are afforded here. A public dispensary at the college building furnishes abundant material of great variety and frequent operations. Here patients are examined and prescribed for in the presence of the students.

The next to last page states requirements for graduation: the candidate must be at least twenty-one years of age. He must further have attended two full courses of medical lectures, one of which must have been delivered in the institute, and he must have attended at least one course of practical anatomy in the dissecting room. He must have studied medicine three years, including attending the lectures under the direction of respectable medical practitioners. He must write a medical thesis and submit the same to the faculty two weeks prior to commencement.

My first remembrance of the school sixty years ago was when my father, one of the original faculty, whose appointment dates back to 1873, took me by the hand and walked me down the hill from his home to the school three blocks away on a sunny Sunday morning. Edward Sewall, who was later to be his assistant and then his associate and partner in office and clinical work, and later the chief of the ear, nose, and throat clinic, was at that time preparing himself to enter the newly founded Stanford University, which later—when it looked for a medical department—took over Cooper Medical College that stood then where it stands now enlarged and modernized, as the Stanford Medical School. Admission to the school in 1896 was prompt and with a minimum of paper work, as witness the following amusing experience of Dr. Sewall. Coming to San Francisco after a year of medical studies in Oregon, he went directly to the home of Dr. Henry Gibbons, Jr., then the dean. The door was opened by Walter Gibbons, the youngest son, who told him that his father was not at home but that his older brother Morton was and could arrange matters for him. Sewall took the few notes young Gibbons made about him to the dean's office

next morning and within a few minutes walked out, a student at Cooper Medical College.

My first remembrance of Dr. Lane was when I was brought to his office on Mission Street and held down in a chair by his two young assistants, Dr. Stillman and Dr. Rixford, while Dr. Lane pulled my tongue out and sutured together a deep cut caused by my biting into the tongue when kicked on the chin in a sand-lot football game, as a boy of ten or twelve. There was no ceremony about it; he was quick, cold, and certain. Usually dressed in a somber black frock coat, he walked to his patients' wards and rooms with few words. He was a masterful operator in days when asepsis was relative, anesthetics administered well, but with no regard for many factors which we now know weigh heavily for or against the patient, and when many operations were performed on the kitchen or dining room table. He was a master anatomist and an expert pathologist of the gross specimen. He was rigid in his discipline. Men served under him as well as with him. In that fashion he founded a school of surgery of which Stillman and Rixford were the highlights. A man who could found a medical school, establish a great medical library, endow lectures for the public, and later obtain the services of the greatest medical men and surgeons in the world to come to San Francisco for the benefit of the medical profession was of course much more than a great surgeon.

Dr. Lane was graduated from Jefferson Medical College in 1851, remaining as an intern at the New York State Hospital until 1855 and then serving as a naval surgeon for four years. In 1859 the sloop of war on which he served touched in San Francisco and his uncle Elias Samuel Cooper offered him a professorship on the newly formed medical faculty. The year 1860 he spent in study at Göttingen and Paris. In 1861 he was back in San Francisco as professor of physiology at Dr. Cooper's school. He was of the greatest aid to his ailing, ambitious uncle, who had a large practice to serve in addition to teaching, editing the *San Francisco Medical Press*, reviewing books, and writing

medical papers. In 1880 Dr. Lane looked about for new quarters for himself and those of the group that he valued. By 1882 they were housed, through his generosity, in a brick and stone building under the name of Cooper College. Lane died on February 18, 1902. Fusion of his medical school with Stanford University occurred seven years later. Thereafter the establishment bore the name of Stanford Medical School, diplomas from which carried the gracious reminder, "Founded as Cooper Medical College by Levi Cooper Lane."

As a surgeon and teacher of surgery, from all written accounts of his day and from the first volume, *Surgery of the Head and Neck*, of a contemplated three-volume textbook on surgery, he was seemingly head and shoulders over any competitor. His writings in various addresses, often not on surgical subjects, were in both forceful and elegant English, enlivened and beautified by generous references to general world literature of which he had an intimate knowledge. When the new auditorium of Cooper College was dedicated in 1890, a marble bust of Lane was unveiled, the delineation of a scholar done in pure Carrara marble. As Harris says in his biography of him, ". . . all of which was seemly. The Roman sculptors had used this marble to perpetuate the memories of the classicists and Lane was of that order."

By virtue of his superior character, iron will, clear thinking, prompt decisions, and unimpeachable ethics, he was able to gather about him superior men who with loyalty and respect for his character remained with him and served under him for many years in the prime interest of his life: Cooper Medical College.

Harris says of him,

Would you know about Lane, of his courage and originality, of his classic leanings and felicitous expression? Then project yourself back to San Francisco in 1875 when he performed America's first vaginal hysterectomy. He believed it entirely original not knowing that in France it had been done many decades before and then had been forgotten. But you will gauge the master's caliber from a single quoted sentence—"Then the cervix was girdled as high

as possible by a cut reaching into the submucous tissues: thence the slow work of enucleation proceeded upwards, the rectal Scylla and vesical Charybdis being shunned by a finger retained in the one, and a silver catheter in the other."

In 1876 in a valedictory address to the graduates he said,

Molière could conceive a *Tartuffe*, Goethe a *Faust*, Dante a *Divine Comedy*, and Shakespeare a *Hamlet*, the greatest of tragedies, yet none of them possessed the patience to master the infinity of detail which would have enabled them as physicians to successfully treat a typhoid fever, or as surgeons to heal an indolent ulcer.

That he could use invective of a completely demolishing character when he felt an injustice done him by someone he had trusted and befriended, I quote from *Shadows in the Ethics of the International Medical Congress* by Levi Cooper Lane, in 1885. The International Medical Congress was to meet in America in 1883. Lane, Flint, and Billings, among others, were on a committee of arrangement: the American Medical Association declined to accept the work done by the committee and created a new one, with instructions to revise and change the work of the committee. The new committee was under the chairmanship of Dr. R. Beverly Cole, professor of obstetrics in the Medical Department of the University of California. Lane first learned of his dismissal from the committee in a short note from Billings, and that he had been dropped at Cole's instance. Billings, Hayes, and Browne immediately resigned from the committee, and Billings wrote, "It's a bad piece of business." Lane proceeds to give some letters of Cole to him, full of expressions of gratitude, in 1882, for Dr. Lane's care of his son-in-law and daughter over a period of three years and now Lane finds his name struck from the list of vice-presidents of the coming International Congress, and from the Section of Surgery at the instance of Cole and proceeds,

He had paid his debt. Stones—and only stones—have been received for the life saved. One seeks in vain for words to describe such action since such action has been so nearly unheard of as to have rendered it necessary to

create words for its expression. But my retirement has the solace of most excellent company: retirement with such men as Hayes, Browne and Billings can be borne. The first is the editor of the mouthpiece of American medicine, viz.: the *American Journal of Medical Sciences*. The second has long been an ornament to the Surgical Corps of the United States Navy—a body of men second to none in refined culture and scientific attainments. As to the third, he and Dr. Cole were both at the Congress in London in 1882; and while Dr. Cole, conspicuous in his livery of bombast, was bringing derision on himself and odium upon American medicine by his exaggerations and incredible statements: while he was squandering the golden moments of that learned body, in the parade of his vaginal mechanical jim-cracks, which adverse criticism has already consigned to the lumber room of oblivion (where a lover of antiquities might have found them years ago)—while this man was strutting and filling the ears from all nations with his “sound and fury,” there stood there another man of unpretending demeanor, whose learned escutcheon bore the simple inscription “Modesty”: and whose able papers, besides partially atoning for his countryman’s parade and superficiality won for their author an enduring place in the literature of the Congress, as well as in the memories of those present, and caused him to be recognized as the tongue, voice, fame and honor of American representation in that august assembly: and this man was—John Billings.

As the founder of Cooper Medical College, and the builder of both the college and Lane Hospital, he deeded them to the corporation with two conditions—first, that the building was to be used as an institution of medical education, and second, that a course of public lectures, called the “Lane Lectures” would be held annually, and delivered semimonthly from January to May inclusive, and that admission would be free.

The new building was located at the corner of Sacramento and Webster streets in a then thriving and fashionable district of San Francisco known as the Western Addition. It is still standing, and is still used by the Stanford School of Medicine. It was made as durable and as well adapted to the purposes of medical education as human art could devise. It was finished as perfectly as possible both inside

and outside. The building had eighty feet of frontage on the two streets, containing five floors plus a basement. The basement contained macerating facilities, furnaces, and storerooms; the first floor, the Morse Dispensary, equipped for general and special clinics, a drugstore, and waiting rooms for men and women; second floor, a large lecture room with a seating capacity of six hundred, a classroom for two hundred students, and the professors’ room; third floor, private laboratories and a chemical lecture room with seats for two hundred students; fourth floor, reading room, library, and magazine rooms, and large rooms for the anatomical and pathological museums; fifth floor, microscope room, and the students’ laboratory and dissecting room.

The faculty of the college, for several years, had performed its duties without a dollar compensation, leaving the entire income of the school to the purchase of required equipment and the establishment of a fund for future use. This fund was now sufficient to furnish every department lavishly with apparatus and instruments, and to lay the foundation for the museum and library of the new building.

Following the construction of the original building, two lots were added by Dr. Lane in 1890 and one by the gift of James M. McDonald, the entire property now covering two-thirds of a block. At this time and on this land, Lane erected at his own expense another structure adjoining the original building. This addition contained on the first floor a large clinical lecture hall; on the second, a large public lecture hall with a thousand seats; on the third floor, a chemical laboratory and an anatomical amphitheater to seat five hundred students. During 1893 and 1894 the new Lane Hospital on Clay and Webster was erected, Captain McDonald again contributing \$25,000 and Claus Spreckels the same amount and Andrew McCreery \$6,000 for bed maintenance. The faculty of the college donated \$20,000 from the proceeds of the students’ fees for further equipment. This sum served that purpose at that time, for it was in gold coin—and none so good in the world! The hospital was deeded to the corporation on January 2, 1895, with the medical and surgical

staff composed of the faculty, but the doors were opened to all regular practitioners; and a training school for nurses was established.

In the vestibule of the hospital, the following was inscribed on a marble plaque:

This hospital erected in the year 1893 by Levi Cooper Lane, physician and surgeon, with money earned by himself in his profession, is given by him to suffering humanity and to the healing art in the hope that the former may here find refuge and relief; the latter exercise of the human skill and intelligent sympathy.

Both college and hospital were soundly

planned and built. Dr. Lane knew the medical buildings of this country and Dr. Rixford was asked by Lane to report from New York as to height of rooms, ventilation, heat, light, and other details, and so did. It was not many years, however, before the progress of medicine demanded minor and then major changes, so that the interior arrangement of both buildings has undergone many alterations. A graduate of 1900 could scarcely find his way about them today. Since I joined the staff in 1915, there has been a practically continuous mending and tinkering, plumbing and painting, subdividing and remodeling, refurnishing and



Cooper Medical College. Original building, ca. 1882.

rewiring, all unavoidable necessities. It is all very well to speak of excellent work done in very old buildings—for instance, the Krankenhaus in Vienna—but we are a different people—both patients and doctors. The time to rebuild or move has come.

I have not given a detailed description of the buildings, as we are all familiar with them. Doubt was at one time expressed that Lane built them with his own money. That astonished me—and probably will the reader—but here you are: the following article appeared in the *San Francisco Chronicle*:

COOPER COLLEGE

DUE TO THE GENEROSITY OF DR. LANE

A Chapter in the History of the
Medical School and Hospital

The story has been given some currency that the fine building known as Cooper Medical Col-

lege and also the adjacent hospital in process of erection, in the Western addition of this city, have been built from a legacy left by Dr. E. S. Cooper. That this is incorrect and that San Francisco owes these handsome edifices to the generosity and public spirit of Dr. L. C. Lane will appear from the following statement of Mr. Reay, who was an executor of Dr. Cooper's will:

"State of California, City and County of San Francisco.—Joseph W. Reay, being duly sworn, deposes and says he is a resident of the city and county of San Francisco and has been for more than forty-three years past, that he was intimately acquainted with Dr. Elias S. Cooper during his lifetime and lived with him in the same house during all the time he was a resident of California and the city and county of San Francisco, and for many years he was his business agent, and after his death, which was in October, 1862, he was an executor of his will, and duly qualified and acted as such executor



Cooper Medical College. Original building with addition including Lane Hall, ca. 1892.

without compensation or commission from the estate. In his will Dr. Cooper bequeathed his entire estate to his relatives and he left no means, either by bequest in his will or by verbal request, for the erection of a medical college in this city or elsewhere.

"Deponent further says the total value of the estate left by Dr. Elias S. Cooper, deceased, was \$8,500, as more fully appears by the record of the Probate Court of this city and county.

"Deponent further says that Dr. Levi C. Lane advanced and contributed out of his private funds the sum of \$1,162.72 to pay some of the claims against Dr. Cooper's estate.

"Deponent further says upon his information and belief that the building in this city known as the Cooper Medical College was erected by Dr. Levi C. Lane from his own private means and was so named to honor his relative, Dr. E. S. Cooper.

"Further, affiant sayeth not.

(signed) J. W. REAY.

"Subscribed and sworn to before me this 18th day of December, 1893.

JOHN P. POOLE, *Notary Public.*"

The newspaper account continues:

The Cooper Medical College owns four 50-vara lots between Sacramento and Clay Streets, Webster and Buchanan. Three of these were given by Dr. Lane and the other by Captain James M. McDonald, he paying \$28,000 for it. Thus the land represents more than \$100,000 in value. Dr. Lane erected the first college building, at a cost of \$125,000 in 1882. In 1890 he erected the second building, at a similar cost.

He is now erecting the hospital, which covers more than a 50-vara, and will have a capacity of more than 100 beds. It has already cost more than \$150,000, and when completed and ready for occupancy, which will be about next June, it will have cost \$250,000, making approximately \$600,000 in land and improvements belonging to the hospital.

Last November Claus Spreckels gave \$25,000 toward the endowment fund for the hospital, and on the 2d of this month Captain McDonald gave another \$25,000 for the same purpose.

Dr. Lane and his wife had long cherished a plan to found and endow a great medical library for the benefit of medical students and the profession at large. Each arranged, by his will, to leave all his property to the other with the understanding that the survivor should carry out those plans. Mrs. Lane died

soon after her husband, with no time to build the contemplated library. However, she did bequeath to Cooper Medical College one-third of her estate, all that was permitted by the California law for charitable purposes or to a corporation, "for the erection and maintenance of a medical library and a special library building therefor, said library to be named 'The Levi Cooper Lane Library of Medicine and Surgery.'"

On August 29, 1906, the Lane Medical Library was formally created by resolution of the directors of Cooper Medical College and the Cooper College Library. It comprised about 8,000 volumes at this time, but shortly thereafter a collection of some 30,000 volumes was purchased from the New York Academy of Medicine.

The library of Cooper Medical College, which became the nucleus of the Lane Medical Library, had taken shape in 1895, having then about 300 volumes, mostly donations by members of the faculty. Upon the death of Dr. Lane it was further increased by the addition of Dr. Lane's personal library to 8,000 volumes and some 10,000 pamphlets.

Since the endowment for the Lane Medical Library was largely in unproductive real estate, the available funds for library expenses and the purchase of books amounted to but \$1,200 a year. Cooper Medical College contributed the room and the salary of the assistant librarian, so that all of the \$1,200 might be spent for books and subscriptions to periodicals.

O'Malley mentions the first library of the college as described by the late Emmet Rixford:

A room on the fourth floor, lined with almost empty bookcases—it was furnished with two large green oilcloth-covered tables on which rested in tumbled disorder, various out-of-date text books, Sajou's *Annual*, a few odd numbers of current periodicals, and a decrepit Webster's dictionary. In one of the cases was a sheep bound copy of the British Encyclopedia, in another a considerable series of the Sydenham Society's publications purchased by the late Dr. Samuel A. Potter for the college, but the books had such a habit of disappearing that the then librarian, Dr. Charles H. Steele, locked up the better books in the cases and the inquiring stu-



Operating room of Cooper Medical College. Dr. L. C. Lane standing in left foreground, Dr. Adolph Barkan standing in right background.

dent had to get the key from the janitor to look into any of them.

Dr. Rixford in 1895, in addition to being adjunct professor of surgery, took over the office of librarian. The collection numbered some 300 volumes. In his own words, "members of the faculty were importuned to donate their journals—old and new—text books, pamphlets, etc. Dr. A. Barkan gave me \$10.00 to start some subscriptions and Dr. J. O. Hirschfelder promptly duplicated it; this was the first money received by the library. Soon Dr. Barkan gave \$40 more which was similarly duplicated by Dr. Hirschfelder, and later each gave \$100." Incidentally, Dr. J. O. Hirschfelder was the first white child born in Oakland, and his middle initial stood for Oakland.

Dr. Fletcher of the Surgeon General's library gave of duplicates such as were wanted, and Rixford spent two days or more boxing up books and journals. The librarian of the

New York Academy of Medicine extended the same privilege as did the state library at Sacramento.

As can easily be seen, Dr. Rixford was the heart and sinews of the library in its formative stages; as in everything else pertaining to his connection with Cooper Medical College, he took more upon himself than one would have thought it possible for him to carry in addition to his surgical teaching and operative duties, and always accomplished his task. Rixford really stands out as one of the great men in Cooper College's past.

In 1906 the New York Hospital library was bought through the advocacy of Dr. Abraham Jacobi for a ridiculously low price, and the volume of books grew to 40,000. Then came the additional books of the private library of eye, ear, nose, and throat of Dr. A. Barkan, followed by the library of the history of medicine and natural sciences, so that when Stanford University took over the college and li-

brary, it possessed one of the finest medical libraries in the country.

The chapter on the library is not complete without mentioning Miss Louise Ophüls, the librarian. She served first as assistant librarian and then as librarian for many years. Miss Ophüls lived for the library and for the men who used it—faculty, students, and visitors. If one requested the purchase of a new book, she would first balk at the cost of it, but it always appeared; she worried so about every book not returned within a reasonable period of excess time out, that the delinquent hastened to get it back just to please her, for she was kindness itself. I have frequently felt like a guilty small boy, when with her slightly exophthalmic blue eyes she looked at me reproachfully, and as if surprised that I could be among the delinquents, and have spent that evening at home searching for the book, to return it next morning.

The popular Lane medical lectures, still given today, were in my boyhood a real event in the city's life. There were no competing distractions—movies, autos, or television, to mention a few—to be enjoyed on that evening. The hall was always filled, the lecture keenly anticipated. The public was not yet as well informed as today of the progress of medicine from year to year and was eager to hear. It was still fashionable to go to a lecture of a local or visiting celebrity. The faculty as a body marched down the central aisle and took its place in heavy, leather armchairs on the stage, chairs which now serve in the meeting room of the faculty. The speaker introduced, the audience settled down to respectful listening—except for a small group of indigents from the near neighborhood who found themselves a warm refuge for the evening and promptly dozed off. To these popular lectures were soon added the Lane lectures for the



Seated: Dr. L. C. Lane facing Professor McEwen, the first Lane Lecturer (holding skull).
Standing: Dr. Stillman behind Professor McEwen, Dr. Hirschfelder behind Dr. Lane, Dr. Adolph Barkan between.

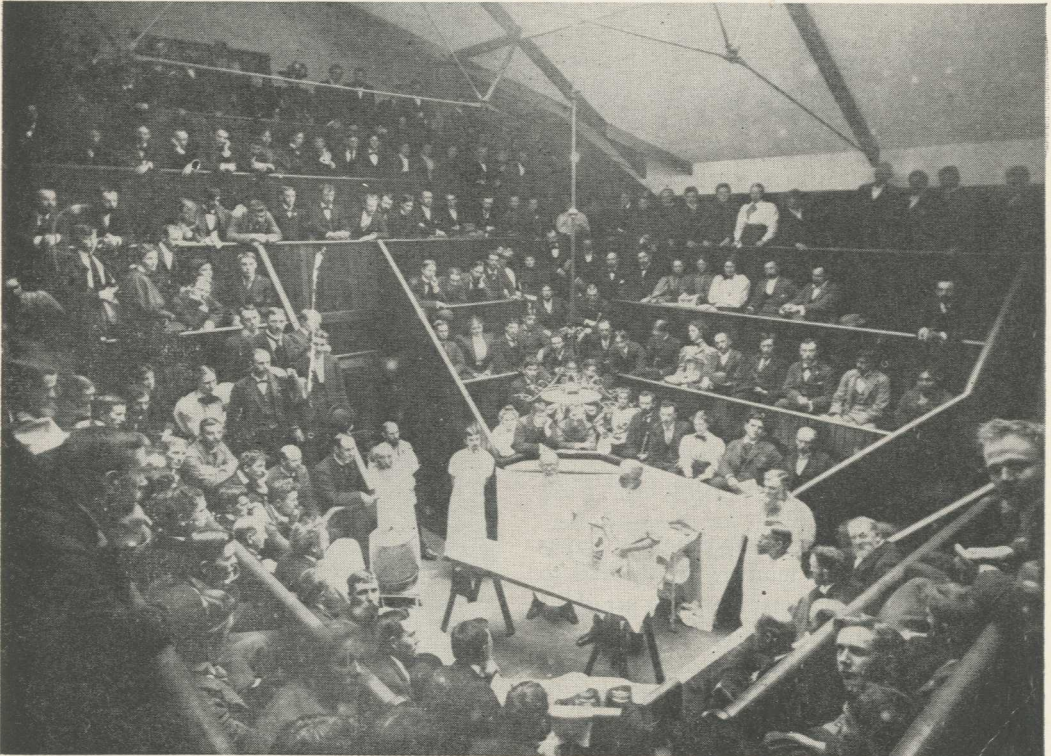
medical profession specifically, occurring every two years, continuing today, and given in every case by some markedly outstanding physician, by invitation. When these lectures were in Lane's mind, my father contemplated a European visit and Dr. Lane said to him, "Dr. Barkan, I intend to establish lectures which are to be given every two years by men most highly qualified in their subject. Search for such a man and if you find him, let me know."

In Dr., later Sir, William McEwen, professor of surgery in Glasgow, my father found the man and wired to that effect. He was authorized to invite him. McEwen accepted, saying when the fee was mentioned to him, "Dr. Barkan, the fee is of no consequence to me but the idea intrigues me." He thus became the first lecturer to be followed by men all world-eminent in their field; of these, one has been a Stanford graduate, James M. Gamble, Pro-

fessor of Pediatrics at Harvard, a Stanford A.B. of 1905.

McEwen was my father's guest during the lecture week—a tall, sparse man with short-cropped white beard and extraordinary brilliant blue eyes. The evening before leaving, he presented me with a long, bone-handled knife of really formidable dimension. When my father asked him how he happened to possess such a weapon, he replied, "My son Hugh presented it to me when I left Glasgow to defend myself against the Indians."

From Lane's school arose an excellent group of surgeons: Stillman, Rixford, Beasley, Thorne, Rumwell, Winterberg, and others; and from their teachings, again, Cowan, Butler, and Chandler. Of them all, two men, great contrasts in character, both ruling the surgical profession for many years, stand out in highlight: Stanley Stillman and Emmet Rixford, as surgeons the peer of any and the



Operating room of Cooper Medical College. Dr. Ellinwood seated at far right of lowest bank in right lower part of the photograph, looking back at the camera.

superior of almost all. I remember them when they were young assistants of Lane and I perhaps ten or twelve. A vivid picture to me still is the old-fashioned but comfortable living room of my parents, with my mother at the piano, Rixford singing Schubert songs, and Stillman puffing a cigarette in the bow window, with my father offering occasional musical suggestions, which were really commands. He had a great regard for both of them and with Lane recognized early that they were the coming men. Stillman served a year as my father's office assistant, and then one day suddenly, as was his wont, father told him that he was cut out for a big surgeon, and provided him with some funds to study. With whom and where I do not remember.

Stillman finally was in charge of all surgery and teaching at the Cooper school and later, as was Rixford, a Stanford professor. Rixford held the same position at the San Francisco Hospital. Both Stillman and Rixford were hard workers; Stillman inclined to growl about it, Rixford always patient. They were impatient with each other often; Stillman arguing the matter with passion, Rixford shaking his head in negation—both great surgeons, great personalities, and great friends.

Rixford was much more the student of the two, deeply versed in medical literature as well as general literature. He was a collector of many things; his collection, especially, of sea shells found at higher altitudes in the Sierra was a remarkable one. Among his favorite subjects was the rose, its development and growth. He was a mountaineer and a good sailor, and his yacht was well known on the bay. (It had originally been the ship on which "Boss" Tweed escaped from New York and took refuge in Cuba.)

Rixford had an even disposition, whereas Stillman had a fiery temper. Many had to suffer by some outrageous remark or act of his in the operating room. But he had a wonderful quality of self-condemnation and would meet you in the hall afterward, stop dead in his tracks, put his hand on your shoulder, with his blue eyes shining affection at you, and say, "Now, my boy, you know I didn't mean that." If that ever happened to you once with him,

you forgave him all and would do anything for him after that.

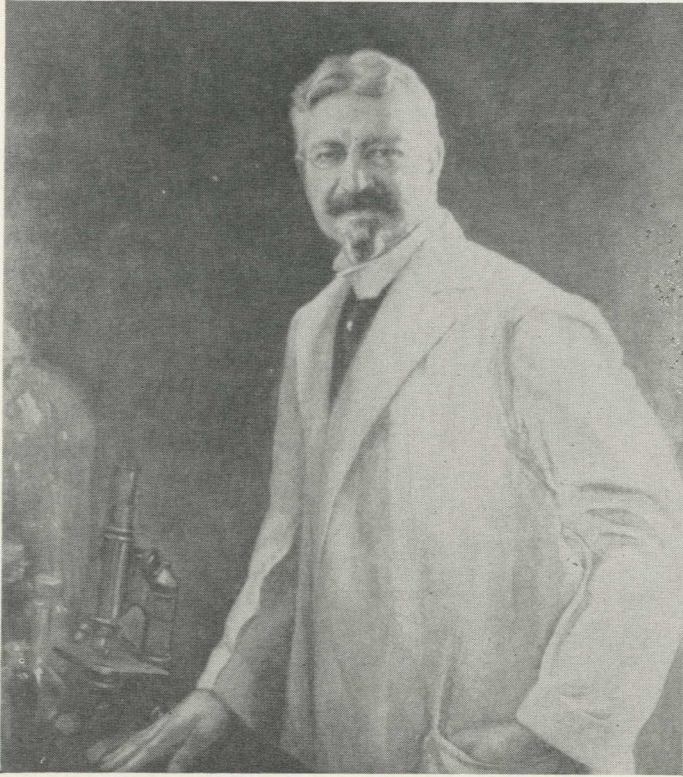
On one occasion, at a banquet in his honor he was teased about this temper of his and told the following story:

"My father had a canary and, when he was tired of hearing him sing, would throw a cloth over the cage. One day the bird continued to sing in spite of the cloth. My father, in a rage, reached into the cage, broke the canary's neck and threw him out of the window." Then Dr. Stillman said, with his charming smile, "Now, what in hell do you expect from a man with an ancestry like that?"

Rixford knew so much about so many things that when an argument came up, his was usually the last word on the subject. One day at luncheon he came in rather tired and, finding me alone at the table, said, "I had an interesting experience last night. I was operating in Palo Alto and had my dinner in a restaurant late in the evening. Opposite to me sat a young man wearing a Stanford sweater. The place was an inferno of noise: dishes, shouting, gramophones, and so forth. I said to the young man, 'Young man, are you a Stanford student?' And he said, 'Yes, sir.' And I said, 'I understand that at examination



DR. HENRY GIBBONS, JR., 1840-1911



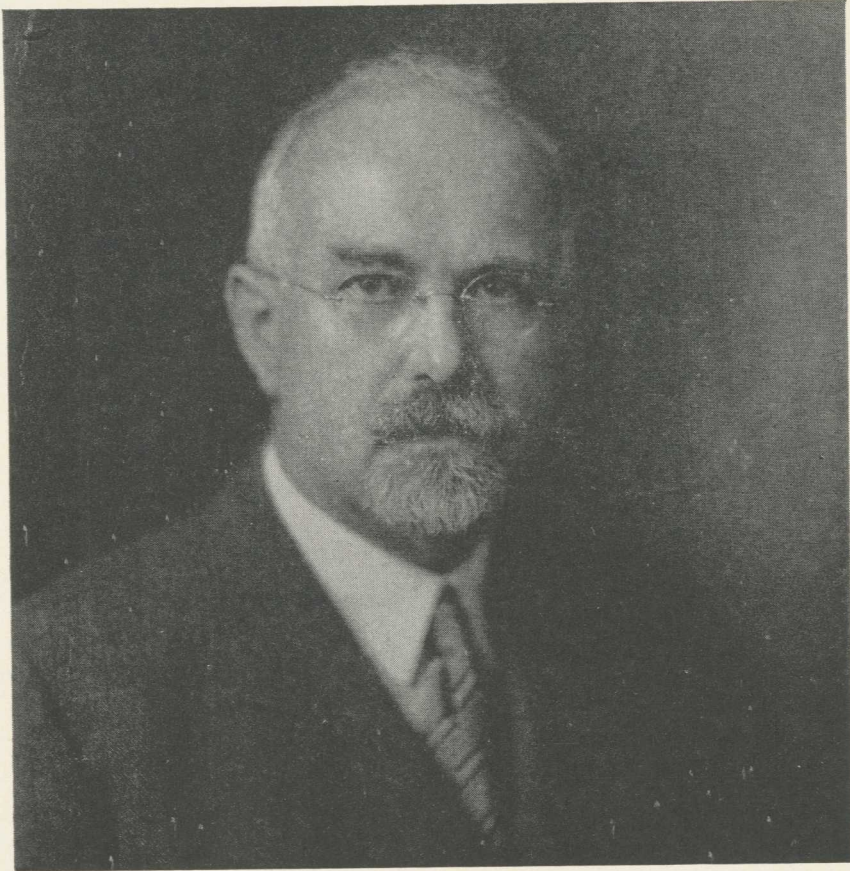
DR. WILLIAM OPHÜLS, 1871-1933

time your halls are about as noisy as this restaurant: radios and gramophones going all over the place while you are studying. When I was a young student, I had to concentrate and could not have studied under those circumstances. How do you do it?' And the young man said, 'Well, sir, you see, my generation can do more than one thing at a time.'" Dr. Rixford gave me a long look and said, "I opened my mouth to retort—but I shut it again."

For many years, the New Year's Eve celebration at Dr. Rixford's home was an event: games of all varieties, music, and at midnight the bowl of punch and everybody joining hands in a circle and singing "Auld Lang Syne."

I have mentioned previously that following Dr. Lane's death in 1902, Dr. C. N. Ellinwood was elected president, and have also stated that

he was deposed by the faculty, the exact date of this deposition being the faculty meeting of February 1907. The minutes of this meeting were for years not among the faculty minutes collected in the Lane Library. Dr. William Cheney, secretary of the board, wrote these minutes up from rough notes in his office and at home. At the time of the San Francisco fire, these minutes were in his home and for years remained there until discovered last year and placed in the files of the Lane Library. These brief minutes in Dr. Cheney's clear writing cover two years of sessions which led finally to the deposition of the president. But they are quite explicit. The deposition was unanimously voted and the letter which Dr. Ellinwood read to the board was quoted in full, it being his wish that this letter be spread on the minutes; the original letter is enclosed in the book of Faculty Meetings. With Dr. Ellinwood's deposition, Dr. Henry Gibbons,



DR. EMMET RIXFORD, 1865-1938

Sr., was elected president, and shortly after his death and at the last meeting of the Cooper board, only five months before Stanford took over the school, Dr. Adolph Barkan was elected president. I do not at all remember this though I was then a young instructor in pathology in Harvard Medical School and was surprised to find at this late date that my father, who after Dr. Gibbons' death had been on the faculty longer than anyone else, had received this honor. I imagine it is a fact known to very few. He was in Europe at that time and did not return until the school was taken over by Stanford University.

In addition to the long-missing minutes, which later are quoted in full, as the action taken greatly speeded up the acquisition of the school by Stanford University, I was told

by Dr. Marion Read that Dr. Emmet Rixford, Jr., possessed a notebook of his father's containing a full account of the events that led directly to the deposition of Dr. Ellinwood. These notes were written by Dr. Rixford on the same evenings of the numerous meetings which a committee of the faculty held with Dr. Ellinwood in regard to the disposition of that part of Dr. Lane's estate which had been willed to Dr. Ellinwood. Dr. Rixford, Jr., kindly gave me this notebook, which he has since presented to the Historical Section of the Lane Library, and it shall be given in full, except for a half-page of hearsay evidence referring to some previous incidents in Dr. Ellinwood's career, not germane to the matter of the estate of Mrs. Lane. Forty-five years after the events recorded, Dr. Rixford's notes cast

a striking light upon the men concerned and permit us today a vivid picture of the events which directly propelled Cooper Medical College into Stanfords' arms.

Herewith follow Dr. Rixford's personal notes:

Nov. 27, '05, 11:20 P.M.—I have just come from a most interesting meeting of the Directors of Cooper Medical College at which were present Drs. Ellinwood, Barkan and Gibbons, and of which the minutes record nothing but one or two items of routine business. The discussion which took place may mean much for the future of Cooper College and I think should be preserved with as much accuracy as possible in case it may hereafter be quoted.

It came about through some supposed error of the Treasurer in not recording any draught from the Lane Medical Library Fund during the year 1904. Dr. Ellinwood asked whether the income of the Lane Medical Library fund were being expended for the purposes of the College Library and said that there were legal relations in regard thereto which had best be seen to. I replied that the expenditure had been authorized by the board, the understanding being very clear that the College Library was to be considered the nucleus of the Levi Cooper Lane Library of Medicine and Surgery, that furthermore the Directors had authorized me as librarian to incorporate the Library of Dr. Lane with the College Library. I then went on, there being no business before the Board, to state that the time seemed ripe for a beginning to be made in planning for the Library, that after the fundamental questions of size, character, etc., of the Library, its relations to the College and to the Medical Profession had been determined, a beginning should at once be transacted, etc., as these things were getting more and more rare and rapidly so at the present time in consequence of the development of a large number of medical libraries in the United States, all of which are hungry for the very material required by the Lane Library. I further stated that Libraries are not purchased outright but grow, the logical plan for the creation of the Lane library would be to gather together the books and when a sufficient collection had been secured to build the building, that if the building were to be built first the running expenses would have to be met and the interest of the investment would be lost. I then said that inasmuch as Dr. Ellinwood had promised this board that the $\frac{2}{3}$ of the Lane estate in his possession should be available whenever "you

gentlemen get ready to build the library building" (meaning the Board of Directors) it was time to begin planning for the library. Dr. Ellinwood denied having said the above. I asked "What did you say—" "Not that; go on and finish—" Dr. Gibbons and Dr. Barkan both corroborated my statement but Dr. Ellinwood persisted in his denial and finally said he expected to cooperate with this Board in Building the Lane Library.

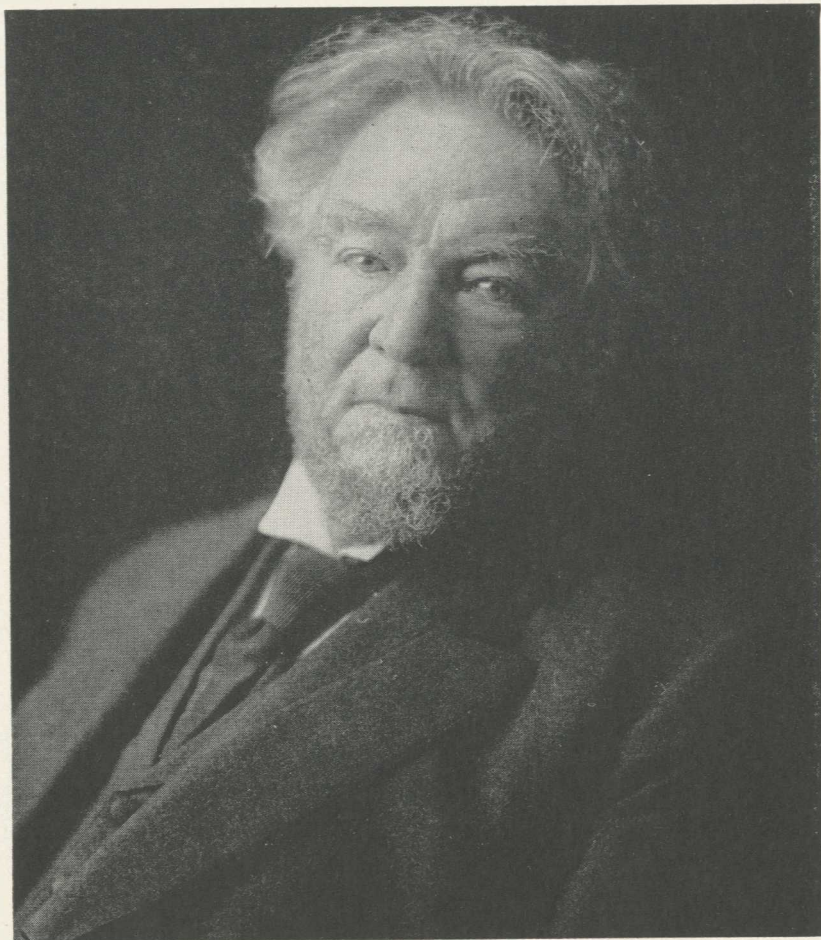
1906—January 19th.—Dr. Ellinwood, Fr. E. R. Taylor and myself having been appointed a committee of the Directors of the College to devise a general plan for the Lane Library, we met this evening at the residence of Dr. Ellinwood.

Before noting what occurred, I ought to conclude the statement written above on Nov. 27th by recording that Dr. Ellinwood entered into some criticism of the Faculty and the Directors for treating him discourteously by voting him down on pretty much all occasions. When he denied having said that he would "see that the money was forth-coming," each of those present in turn stated that he had so understood Dr. Ellinwood and had acted under that understanding. Dr. Barkan said that he had rested content in the matter and had himself given \$5,000 to the College as a Teachers' Fund which he would not have done had the statement not been made by Dr. Ellinwood. Dr. Gibbons asked what reasons he had for not coming more directly forward and taking the members of the Board into his confidence? Dr. E. vouchsafed no answer beyond intimating that his reasons were sufficient—that this money had been given to him by Mrs. Lane unconditionally and he proposed to use it in the way Dr. Lane would have used it—to the best of his (E's) knowledge.

I said that Dr. E's complaint that the Faculty and Directors had not given him the support that should be given the President of the College, had no foundation—on the contrary, both Faculty and Directors had given him an amount of support and cooperation truly extraordinary in view of his treatment of them—that he had persisted in repelling all confidence on the part of his associates and had grievously hurt the feelings of all of them—and particularly of myself.

Dr. Barkan said: "Dr. Ellinwood, you complain of the lack of respect shown you. I assure you your present course is not calculated to increase my confidence or respect—" whereupon Dr. E. hung his head and had nothing to say.

During the evening he said that it was not reasonable to suppose that Mrs. Lane had given



DR. EDWARD R. TAYLOR, 1838-1923

him this two-thirds of her estate without some instructions as to how it should be expended.

Again he said that when he took the Presidency of the College he had expected for that reason to meet antagonisms—and was not surprised, that he had been asked by Dr. Lane to take the Presidency and had said to him that he foresaw certain difficulties, and asked his advice; that thereupon Dr. Lane had said that he had had such difficulties to contend with and that he had met them by listening to all that people had to say and then using his own judgment; Dr. E. said further that he had gone to Dr. Lane again with statement of other difficulties and had been met with the advice—"Listen to what they have to say and act on your own judgment."

From all these statements it was evident to the members of the board that Dr. Ellinwood intended to administer the Lane bequest in his own way. I afterward stated to Dr. Barkan that while I was hurt, I felt that Dr. Ellinwood would give the money to spend it for the library and I could not see but that he had a right to do so, and that to that I would not object.

From that day to this there has nothing transpired of any importance as far as I am aware.

Tonight, Dr. Taylor stated that after mature deliberation in the light of the fact which we must admit of the precarious present position of the College, the fact that medical education is becoming so costly that independent medical schools cannot exist and maintain a high standard of scholarship without great endowment, he

had come to the determination that the Lane Medical Library should be so endowed as to insure its permanency that it was possible that the library might be the only surviving monument to Dr. Lane. He stated further that in his judgment in event of the College being absorbed into Stanford, the Library should persist as an independent institution; that entangling alliances of all sorts should be avoided and no one given a voice in the management of the library outside this board, that the matter of endowment was from these considerations fundamental and when that had been determined it would be possible to make plans for the building.

When it came my turn to speak, I stated that on the understanding that the remainder of the Lane Estate after the Lane Lectures were founded should go to this library, the library would be of monumental dimensions and if administered in a broad spirit would be a great monument to Dr. Lane. On this understanding I believed that the doors should be open to all members of the medical profession for reading in the library but should be open to borrowing of books to certain people under certain restrictions, that it should contain complete files of all the medical periodicals and that the building should be so constructed that the stockroom should have capacity of 100,000 volumes or be readily expanded to that capacity with the design so worked out that further expansion would be possible; that the building should contain rooms for the meetings of medical societies.

Dr. Ellinwood asked what arrangement could be made by which the medical profession would contribute to the support of the library.

Dr. Taylor said that we should surrender no rights to any medical society but that some income might be derived from the rental of meeting rooms.

I stated that I thought it would not be unreasonable to expect the County Medical Society to be willing to pay five dollars per member annually for the privileges of meeting in the building and for each member to have the right to take out books under proper restrictions, that this sum would not be greatly in excess of the present expenses of the society for meeting room (\$10), rent of library rooms (\$40), salaries of librarians (\$60) and for the purchase of books, shelving, binding, etc., that members of the N.Y. academy paid \$20 a year for very little more. I would advise that if possible such an arrangement be made with the County Society which at the prospective membership of 600 (now 530) would give \$3,000 a year which would help out

very largely in the running of the library, that the present library of the County Society 5000 volumes—the best of which belongs to the German Society and much of the remainder to the State Society (exchanges and books for review) be deposited in the library and be cared for so that at any time if the County Society desired the arrangement to cease it could have its present library intact; that these books would have to be in the nature of duplicates as far at least as the periodicals are concerned for the Lane Library would have to have complete files of them all.

I further said that since the Boston Library building had cost with its lot \$110,000, I thought the Lane Library ought to have a building which alone would cost \$100,000 or perhaps more, that it ought to contain a commodious reading room, 6 research rooms, 2 small society rooms holding 50 or 75 people, a large auditorium holding 600 or 800, a periodical room 20 x 30 or so, a librarian's room and a memorial room to Dr. and Mrs. Lane in which should be placed the secular library of the Lanes and furniture, etc., instruments, portraits, bric-a-brac.

I further said that it should be seriously considered whether the present lot is large enough—whether either the adjoining lot of 30 x 100 ft. should be purchased or at least the building so designed that it could eventually be extended in that direction.

Dr. Taylor said that these matters were interesting and very proper but were matters of detail to be worked out by a committee on architectural program that the important thing before us was to determine as nearly as possible the amount of money available for the building and for the support of the library. He then asked Dr. Ellinwood for his opinion in the matter.

Dr. E. who had made notes from time to time of my suggestions, replied that the $\frac{1}{3}$ of the estate would probably amount to \$200,000, and that when the plans were worked out he would see how much of the $\frac{2}{3}$ he would devote to that purpose—that he wanted it definitely understood that the idea shared by several members of the board (this with a queer little smile) that this money was left in trust for the college was erroneous; that the money was left to him unconditionally by Mrs. Lane and he proposed to use it as he saw fit and he would make no promises in regard to the matter. He said he agreed in the main with the suggestions made by me but thought I had planned the institution on a larger scale than the funds would permit of. He said he would advise that the board draw up a plan

of what the library should be and then turn it over to him with the \$200,000—the $\frac{1}{3}$ willed to the college for him to execute.

Dr. Taylor asked him what he meant by "executing it"—whether that meant that the board was to have nothing to say in regard to the administration or the plan of the institution? Dr. E. replied "I did not say that."

I said that Dr. E. had said at a meeting of the Board that he "wanted to cooperate with the board in the building of the library" but that his present interpretation of the word cooperate would scarcely be found in the dictionary.

Dr. E. said he was not actuated by any selfish motives but purely by a sense of duty—his present position was not of his seeking and he would get out of it if he conscientiously could. He had been selected by Mrs. Lane to do this thing and he proposed to do it. Dr. Taylor said that Mrs. Lane had made a will shortly before the one under which the distribution had been made in which she gave the $\frac{2}{3}$ to Dr. Lane's nephew, young Cooper and I said if Mrs. Lane had intended Dr. E. to administer the whole of the property she would have willed it all to him instead of giving all that the law would allow to the College.

Thereupon Dr. E. said there was nothing to be gained by talking of what dead people intended to do or what they were supposed to have said.

I asked "did Dr. Lane tell you that he wanted you to do this thing?" and he answered "no." "Did Mrs. Lane tell you?" and he answered "I am not saying anything about what Mrs. Lane said or did not say to me."

"Well," I said, "this matter is fundamental. What shall this committee report to the board?" Dr. E. answered, "You should report your general plans outlined for the library together with my recommendation."

I said Dr. Ellinwood is chairman of the committee, meaning that it would be proper for him to make the report. I said further that the matter was at this stage very simple—the determination of whether the library should be a College library with the \$200,000 which would build a modest building and furnish a library such as no medical school in America has or whether it should be a monumental library dedicated to the medical profession that this determination rested solely with Dr. Ellinwood and until he vouchsafed a statement of what funds he would furnish the desirable monumental library was out of the question.

With that Dr. Taylor and I said "good night." On the way home T. said the directors ought to have a meeting before Monday night. I said "no," I would prefer to have this denouement made in the board meeting with Dr. Ellinwood present—it would be of at least considerable dramatic interest. I further said that if I were to act on my present feeling I would tell Dr. Ellinwood to take his $\frac{2}{3}$ and leave the school.

Dr. Taylor said as we left the door "Did you ever hear anything so preposterous? To make the devoting of this money, and only an indefinite part of it, conditional on the Board's giving him complete control not only of his $\frac{2}{3}$ but also of the $\frac{1}{3}$ belonging to the College. It is a direct insinuation of incompetency and an insult."

I think it would be well to postpone all action in the matter of building until matters are a good deal clearer. I do not believe it would be to the best interests of the College to permit E. to have the one-third. (1:45 A.M., Jan. 20)

Dec. 26, '06.—Since the previous meeting much has transpired in the library matter and that of the Lane Estate—

In the one meeting of the Directors after some discussion of the subject Dr. Ellinwood having stated that the money Mrs. Lane left him was his and for him to do with what he pleased. Dr. Gibbons being thoroughly out of patience and much irritated, asked him if he intended to keep that money. "That is my affair," he retorted. That such a man as Dr. Gibbons—sweet, lovable, honorable in the broadest meaning of the term should receive such an answer from such a man as Dr. Ellinwood was painful in the extreme to those who were obliged to hear it.

The calamity of April 18–20, '06, did much damage to the College and Hospital building—while not injuring them vitally—the cost of repairs amounted to several thousand dollars. This matter was put in the hands of Dr. Ellinwood for execution.

When Dr. John C. McVail wrote and cabled an inquiry as to whether the Directors desired the lectures to be given this year Dr. Ellinwood asked the Board to decide whether the lectures would be given. He said that the extent of the calamity was so great that he was more and more convinced that it would be years before anything like normal conditions would be restored. He therefore advised giving up the lectures for this year. The Directors strongly opposed having an hiatus in the lectures—claiming that even if the audience should be small the lectures would probably be enough of a success to warrant their being given. Dr. Ellinwood thereupon presented

his objections in writing and asked that this be recorded in the minutes. This was accordingly done.

The lectures were given and though the audience was not more than half the usual size, the lectures were appreciated and in the opinions of several whom I consulted they could not be called a failure.

Somewhat on my suggestion but with the entire cooperation of Dr. Ellinwood, who deemed this a favorable time for approaching the Directors of the County Medical Society, the library of the Society having been destroyed, to the end that some sort of union of effort for mutual benefit be arrived at, a committee was appointed consisting of Drs. Ellinwood, Taylor and myself to meet a committee of the County Society. A preliminary meeting was held—and Dr. P. M. Jones, chairman of County Society's Committee (Jones, Hartigan and Moffitt) sent a letter to each member of the Society asking for suggestions in the matter. In Dec., '06, a second meeting was held at which Dr. Ellinwood was not present—in which Dr. Jones stated that 80 replies had been received—generally favorable, that only two or three had violently opposed the scheme and that if two things could be arranged satisfactorily—viz., permanency assured and representation on the board of management—practically all opposition would be met. Dr. Hartigan asked when the new Library Building would be built—Dr. Taylor and I could not answer saying it all depended on Dr. Ellinwood. As to permanency—the foundation for the arrangement would be mutual advantage—when that should cease—the arrangement ought to cease.

The conclusion thus was that until such time as Dr. Ellinwood should act in the matter of endowment the arrangement suggested with County Society was out of the question. These facts I reported to Dr. Ellinwood clearly showing him that the Board of Directors could do nothing till he should make clear his intentions. He replied "Well, we shall have to bide our time."

At a meeting of the Directors held Oct. 20, '06, Dr. Ellinwood announced that there was need of a summer school for graduate instruction in Cooper College—that one or two men might be brought here from the East for this purpose and that he would furnish the necessary money. He proposed that inasmuch as according to his opinion the Lane Lectures were a failure, they should be discontinued. It was objected that the Lectures were not a failure in spite of many circumstances tending to make

them so. Dr. E. said he would no longer furnish money for the Lane Lectures and if the Directors wished to continue them they could furnish the money.

Of course, he knew the Directors had not sufficient money without crippling other departments of the College.

A meeting was subsequently held after my return from the East—at Dr. Taylor's home—present Taylor, Gibbons, Stillman and myself—to determine whether the present unsatisfactory state of things could longer be endured. Dr. Taylor called attention to the fact that Dr. E's attitude as expressed by him toward the use of the Lane money for College purposes had materially changed during the last three years—that at first he had promised to endow the Lane Lectures out of the proceeds of sale of the Broadway and Scott Sts. lot—and that the remainder of the $\frac{2}{3}$ should go to the Library. Little by little as we (the directors) had let him slip by, he had retracted one promise after another and now had refused point blank to continue to provide for the Lane Medical Lectures or to carry out their endowment. Dr. Gibbons was of the opinion that the present state of uncertainty could not continue—he read a statement of the various incidents that have happened in this matter accusing Dr. E. of hoodwinking his associates with one pretext and another to the end that he might keep all the $\frac{2}{3}$ of the Lane estate. Dr. Stillman said he was unwilling to continue longer to put himself in so humiliating a position as he was forced to as a member of the Directors of Cooper College.

It was therefore agreed that Dr. Taylor should at the next meeting ask Dr. E. to once and for all make clear his intentions in regard to the Lane money, Dr. Ellinwood refusing, Dr. Gibbons to read his paper which was in the nature of a personal arraignment.

I am greatly troubled as to what is right to do. Dr. Barkan is away—and an unwarrantedly large responsibility rests on me. I pointed out at this meeting that if we carry out this plan and refuse longer to cooperate with Dr. Ellinwood—to put him out of the Presidency—we would play into his hands if he desired to keep the money and would make it practically impossible for him to give any of Dr. Lane's fortune to the purposes which we all know were dear to him. Dr. Stillman said—"Of course we know that but the School without Ellinwood is better off than if it had all of Lane's money with Ellinwood as President." It seems to me now that we ought to have a clear statement from Dr. E. and that

it would be right to ask for it. I certainly shall insist that no demand be sprung without his being given time to answer. I think we ought to demand the continuance of the Lane Med. Lectures till it is definitely evident that they are a failure whereupon the money ought to go to some other perhaps similar purpose for the benefit of the College, and I shall act accordingly at this meeting.

It has been said by many men in the Directorate and Faculty that the College is suffering because of the retention of Dr. E. in the Presidency. Dr. Cheney said to me he would have resigned long ago had he not felt it his duty to remain because of his honor and obligation to Dr. Lane. Dr. Hirschfeld whom I consulted said he desired to bolster up my hands in bringing the matter of the Lane moneys to a focus—that he was convinced that Dr. E. intended to keep the money. Dr. Somers said to me that he thought we as Directors ought to demand a full statement of his intentions and in event of its not being satisfactory to discontinue Dr. E. as President.

I omitted to record the following: Last winter I entered into correspondence with Browne, librarian of the New York Academy, looking to the purchase of the Med. Library—the collection of Duplicates of the Academy—the nucleus of which was the N. Y. Hosp. library about 25,000 volumes rich in periodicals. I had Dr. Hirschfelder examine the collection and he reported that it was worth a great deal of money, could not be duplicated in his opinion in the open market for \$100,000. He suggested that we make an offer—say \$5,000 to start negotiations.

Dr. Ellinwood came to me one day and said that if I would turn over to him the correspondence he would pay for the books. I agreed.

He finally paid \$6,000 for the collection in New York including boxing, had it shipped to S. F. by the Am. Hawaiian Steamship Company—and finally presented it to Cooper Medical College as a part of the Lane Medical Library as a "personal gift." He stipulated however that the freight and cartage charges should be paid by the College. They amounted to something over \$800.

Dr. Barkan moved that the gift be accepted from Dr. C. N. Ellinwood, President of Cooper Medical College, which was carried. At a subsequent meeting after some debate the resolution was reconsidered and on Dr. Ellinwood's request as to the wording of the resolution—the words "President of Cooper Medical College" were omitted. Dr. Ellinwood took occasion to say

that he desired definitely to disabuse the minds of the Directors that the money left him by Mrs. Lane was in any way a trust, that it was no concern of any of the directors where he got the money. I stated that it was inconceivable to me that anyone in the position of Dr. Ellinwood could make a gift to the Lane Library out of the moneys left by Dr. Lane without mentioning Dr. and Mrs. Lane. His failure to do so made it evident that the gift was as he had stated—a personal gift—and therefore out of other moneys than those left him by Mrs. Lane; and that therefore the Directors ought to accept the gift and thank Dr. Ellinwood therefor.

Everyone of the College staff to whom I made this statement scoffed at the idea.

It seems to me that the Directors must take cognizance of Dr. Ellinwood's declared refusal to provide for the Lane Lectures. They were entrusted as to the election of the Lecturer to the Directors who therefor have an obligation to perform in their continuance until such time as it shall be evident to the Directors that the lectures are a failure. They cannot leave that decision to Dr. Ellinwood and if he refuses to furnish the Lane money therefor, that fact should be made public.

Jan. 15, '07.—At the meeting of the Directors held Jan. 9th, '07, Dr. E. R. Taylor after stating the unsatisfactory condition of affairs in the College with reference to the Lane Lectures and Library, the humiliating position in which the Committee appointed to confer with the S. F. County Med. Society with regard to the matter of the proposed amalgamation, demanded of Dr. Ellinwood on behalf of the Directors, a clear and unequivocal statement of his position and his intentions in the matter of the Lane Lectures and Library to which Dr. Ellinwood replied that he had stated in his annual report that he hoped to endow the Lane M. Lectures that he denied having made the statement read from the minutes to the effect that the Lane Lectures were a failure, that what he had said referred only to the lectures of 1906 and that he had refused to furnish money for the lectures of 1907. He demanded that the minutes be corrected—and asked finally each one present in turn whether he felt competent to interpret the wishes of Mrs. Lane—to which Dr. Gibbons said "no," Dr. Taylor "yes," that he had talked with her enough about them, and I said I did not feel called upon to answer such a question and Dr. Stillman said he knew she wanted a library to be built—a memorial library—"For which she gave the College $\frac{1}{3}$ of her estate" interjected

Dr. Ellinwood, "and which" said Dr. Stillman "the one-third will not pay for janitor service, light and heat after the building is built."

A day or two later Dr. Gibbons asked we write out a statement of the facts that have transpired in this matter in the form of resolutions. This I have done tonight. It fills four letter pages of typewriting.

Sept. 29, 1911.—Today we buried Dr. Henry Gibbons. About August 1st last, he was suddenly taken with headaches, loss of memory and other evidences of cerebral anaemia and lingered till Sept. 27th. I have no doubt his end was hastened by his deep resentment of the perfidy of Dr. C. N. Ellinwood whom he had trusted.

His was a truly well spent life—a life of devotion to his duty and to his fellowman, a life which anyone might envy. I often think of Dr. Geo. Chismore's remark that Dr. Harry Gibbons was the only "good man he ever knew whom he could trust!

Dr. Rixford's notes give, of course, only the point of view of Dr. Rixford and some other members of the faculty although there is, to those who knew Dr. Rixford, no question as regards the actual facts that he submits. We will proceed with the minutes of the faculty meeting which deposed the president, at which the president read a communication which was spread upon the minutes, so that with this communication and with the interviews which he gave to the newspapers, his side of the case is fully presented. There follow, then, the minutes of the regular faculty meeting of February 1907.

Present: Professors Ellinwood, Ophüls, Gibbons, Cheney, Gardner, Hirschfelder, Rixford, Garrey, Somers, Stillman and Hanson. [After other minor matters were disposed of, the record reads:] A communication was then presented by Professor Rixford, Secretary of the Board of Directors, to the effect that Professor Ellinwood was no longer President of the Board. Professor Ellinwood then read the following communication and asked that it be spread upon the minutes:

"This communication from the Board of Directors of Cooper Medical College just read informed you of my summary removal from the office of President during the term for which I was elected, thus ignoring and in defiance of the by-laws under which Cooper Medical College is governed.

"The by-laws provide that the president be

elected for one year from the time of his election and until his successor shall have been chosen and qualified; thus establishing a definite tenure of office which cannot be abrogated by the Board. I am advised that I am now and will remain legally the president of Cooper Medical College during the remainder of the term for which I was elected and that the courts of law, if appealed to, would sustain my position and invalidate the action of the Board in removing me. I file my protest and refuse to acquiesce in the unwarranted proceedings of the Board. I accept the notice from my confreres in the Board of Directors that my usefulness is at an end, with the best grace I can, considering the way of its presentation.

"My long service and perhaps over-zealous devotion to what I thought best for the college, ever remembering the views of Dr. Lane as to his policy and management, have brought me many disappointments and some enemies which I sincerely regret.

"When Dr. Lane asked me to succeed him as president of the college, he expressed his apprehensions that the developing character in the men he has raised and reared in the institution would divert it from his hopes and aspirations. He said, speaking of himself, 'If I live long enough, they will put me out of the college and the same fate is in reserve for you.'

"Time, the wisest of things, will reveal to us the wrongs and the rights of the administration of Cooper Medical College. My abiding hopes and best of wishes are for the success of our loved institution.

"Now asking that this my response to the communication from the Board of Directors be spread upon the minutes of the faculty, I respectfully withdraw leaving the matter entirely at your disposition."

Upon the withdrawal of Professor Ellinwood, Professor Hirschfelder assumed the chair. On motion, it was decided to spread the communication on the minutes as requested. On motion of Professor Cheney, the action of the Board of Directors in removing Professor Charles N. Ellinwood from the presidency of the corporation of Cooper Medical College was unanimously carried and Dr. Henry Gibbons, Sr., elected president, and was approved by the Faculty unanimously.

The following resolution was then presented by Professor Stillman and was adopted unanimously: "Whereas the Board of Directors of this College has removed Dr. Charles N. Ellinwood from the presidency thereof and whereas this

Faculty no longer resposes that confidence in said Ellinwood which is conducive to the best interests of said College; and whereas a great disharmony has for sometime existed and still exists between said Ellinwood and this Faculty; now therefore be it resolved that the office of President of this Faculty now filled by said Ellinwood be and the same hereby is declared to be vacant." On motion of Professor Somers the following was unanimously adopted: That the Board of Directors of Cooper Medical College be requested to declare vacant the chair of physiology at present held by Professor Charles N. Ellinwood. On motion made and duly seconded, Professor Gibbons was elected President of the Faculty for the remainder of the college year. There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

WILLIAM FITCH CHENEY, *Secretary*

There is a note to this effect at the bottom of this page: "The minutes for 1905 and for January, February, March and April of 1906 were kept by typewriter on separate sheets and were all destroyed by fire on April 18, 1906, in my office. (signed) WM. F. C."

On the last meeting of the Board of Directors of Cooper Medical College, October 16, 1911, shortly after Gibbons' death, Dr. Somers was elected dean and Dr. Barkan was elected president. The rough notes of the meeting on a separate sheet state: "and Dr. Barkan was elected President. (Please notify c/o Lazard Frères, Paris.)"

That the entire community was surprised and shocked, and that many professional and social contacts were destroyed, can be imagined by reading the following excerpts from an article appearing in the February 22, 1907, issue of the *San Francisco Chronicle*:

... Yesterday Dr. Ellinwood, the deposed president of the institution, announced that, far from desiring to withhold funds left to him by Mrs. Lane from the college, he was anxious to permanently endow a costly post-graduate course which would make Cooper College the Mecca for medical learning in the West, but that he could not conscientiously make this endowment while the affairs of the institution were conducted by Dr. Taylor as they have been in the past.

Dr. Ellinwood declared flatly that if Dr. Taylor would get down and out he would do more for Cooper College in the way of endowment

than the directors of that institution ever expected even in their most sanguine moments.

When Dr. Edward R. Taylor was informed of the declaration of Dr. Ellinwood he laughed scornfully.

"It has taken Dr. Ellinwood a very long time to come to the point, and even yet I have my doubts; but, so far as I am concerned, I wish to have no further dealings with him. I am through with Dr. Ellinwood . . ."

"Dr. Taylor's imagination has often led him astray," declared Dr. Ellinwood yesterday. "He has made other mistakes which may be attributed to excessive imagination, such as the writing of poetry. I think that he also imagined that he was going to receive a considerable portion of the estate of Mrs. Lane. His actions and expressions have showed that he had such expectations and that he was grievously disappointed when they were not fulfilled. I do not know the precise reason why Mrs. Lane did not leave Dr. Taylor any of her property, neither do I know why she left it to me, but I do know that before her death Dr. Taylor read her a great many of his poems. Whether Dr. Taylor's poetry had any effect upon the making of her will to his exclusion or not, I cannot say."

Concerning the causes of the present controversy in Cooper Medical College Dr. Ellinwood said:

"For many years every proposal and suggestion that I have made for the betterment of the institution, the improvement of the course of instruction and the management of the financial affairs of the college has been persistently opposed by Dr. Edward R. Taylor. I have always had the interests of the institution at heart. I have felt the same duty and the same affection toward it that my friend, Dr. Lane, did, and knowing his wishes intimately, I planned to carry them all out. But I was always hampered and opposed by Dr. Taylor at every turn. The mere fact that I made a suggestion was sufficient reason for Dr. Taylor to turn it down. I was able to carry out none of my ideas, and naturally I became disgusted.

"I do not think that anyone realizes better than I do the needs of the institution today. To make Cooper College what Dr. Lane wished it to be there should be a comprehensive post-graduate course, which would enable graduates to specialize in any subject without having to go East to study. I would engage the most eminent anatomist and one of the greatest workers and teachers in tropical medicine as special instructors in this course. Such a course would attract

medical men from all over the West. I am ready to endow this course permanently, at any time, but Dr. Taylor and the directors must come to me before I will take another step in the matter.

"This controversy is not over yet. My interest in Cooper College has not been killed by actions which are dictated by mere foolish personal jealousy, and I have still hopes that it will come out all right."

The following article, given in its entirety, appeared in the *San Francisco Bulletin* of February 21, 1907, over Dr. Taylor's signature:

TAYLOR FAVORS UNION WITH STANFORD
Replies to Attack of Deposed
President of Cooper College
and Says Affiliation Will Be Effected

To prevent affiliation of Stanford University with Cooper Medical College was not the reason Dr. C. N. Ellinwood was removed from the presidency of the latter institution, according to Dr. Taylor, now acting president of Cooper College. In an interview given to the *Bulletin* this morning Dr. Taylor flatly contradicts the statement made yesterday by Dr. Ellinwood and says that such a combination is possible. Dr. Taylor's statement follows:

"I want to say in reply to some statements therein of Dr. Ellinwood, which are personal to myself, and as to what is said by him in regard to the alleged proposed combination of Cooper Medical College with Stanford University:

"That Dr. Lane's wishes for such combination were prompted by any dissatisfaction of his with his confreres in the service of Cooper Medical College is untrue. The fact is that Dr. Lane had come to realize that medical education had taken on such a wide range and required the constant personal labors of certain of the professors which could only be met by the payment of salaries, that without a large endowment in addition to the fees of students, or without the combination with some university which could afford to pay the needed salaries, an independent medical college, no matter though the one be of as high a rank as Cooper, might possibly not be able to endure. He naturally, therefore, looked to Stanford, which, with its law and other great departments, needed only a medical department of high rank to become a university in the widest sense. He, however, died before anything was done beyond his having a conversation or two with Dr. Jordan.

"That I 'promised the trustees that' I 'would be

a stumbling block in the way of such a combination' is untrue. So far from my being now, or having ever been, or having announced myself as intending to be a stumbling block in the way of any combination of Cooper College with Stanford University it is owing to me perhaps almost entirely that such a combination can now be made. When Dr. Lane talked the matter over with me (I having been for many years an intimate friend of his and his legal adviser) it was pointed out to him that it would be entirely feasible to release the corporation's property from the strict conditions he had imposed upon it when he first conveyed it to Cooper Medical College; for with those conditions existing the college would have been compelled to maintain an independent existence, in default of which the property would be lost to it and to medicine. These measures advised by me were adopted by him and by reason thereof all of the college property remains in the corporation free and clear of every condition whatsoever. As my wife was the daughter of Governor Stanford's eldest brother, and as one of my sons is a graduate of Stanford, it is hardly likely that I would stand in the way of anything likely to enure to the benefit of Stanford. The fact is I am not opposed and have never been opposed to a combination with Stanford, provided the combination can be made on terms which are just to Cooper Medical College and to the name and memory of Dr. Lane.

"Dr. Ellinwood's dismissal from the presidency of the Board of Directors and of the Faculty had no more to do with any 'dissension' arising out of the proposed combination with Stanford than last year's violets. There has been no 'dissension,' much less 'bitter dissension,' in regard to the combination, but there has been objection to Dr. Ellinwood's assuming to act therein individually when a committee had been especially appointed for the purpose (of which he was one), the members of that committee having been instructed by the board to do nothing in the way of negotiation, individually, with Stanford, and only as a committee.

"The plain truth is that Dr. Ellinwood, having been tried for more than five years as president of Cooper Medical College, has been found wanting in the qualifications necessary to such a position. He had, for a considerable time before his dismissal, lost the confidence of his associates, and it was no longer possible to continue him in office with due regard to the interests of the institution. I have not been put in place of Dr. Ellinwood, but by virtue of my office of vice-president (which I have held ever since the foundation of the col-

lege twenty-six years ago) I became the acting president on Dr. Ellinwood ceasing to hold the office of president. I have not been elected president of the College, nor do I expect to be, nor do I wish to be. My main work in life lies in the teaching of the law and my paramount duty is to Hastings's College of the Law; but as long as I live I shall do what is possible for me to do to subserve the best interests of Cooper Medical College and to keep bright the name and memory of Dr. Lane. As to Dr. Ellinwood having received the Lane moneys in consideration of 'lifelong friendship,' it is tolerably evident that as only one-third could be given to the college under the law, two-thirds were given to Dr. Ellinwood by reason of the fact that at the time of the bequest he was president of the college, and it was deemed that a sufficient moral obligation was thereby imposed as would induce Dr. Ellinwood to combine the two-thirds with the one-third in the erection and maintenance of a medical library in honor of Dr. and Mrs. Lane and in the endowment of the Lane Course of Medical Lectures.

EDWARD R. TAYLOR"

The following five paragraphs are taken from an article appearing in the *San Francisco Call* of February 22, 1907:

. . . The directors of the college assert that Dr. Ellinwood's position is undermined by his own words. They claim that at a meeting of the authorities not long after the death of Mrs. Lane, Dr. Barkan made a motion that a committee be appointed to wait upon Dr. Ellinwood to learn what disposition he intended to make of the money. Dr. Ellinwood, who was present at the meeting, according to the other directors, arose and indignantly exclaimed, "There is no need of a committee to wait upon me. I intend to use the money to carry out the wishes of Dr. and Mrs. Lane. If you desire, I will put this in writing." The directors thought no such step necessary and the matter was dropped for a time . . .

The matter dragged along, occasional reference being made to the subject at meetings of the directors, but Dr. Ellinwood was never ready to act. There was talk of selling the valuable block at Broadway and Divisadero street, in which the college has a one-third interest, and Dr. Ellinwood a two-thirds interest, but, although good offers were made for the property, Dr. Ellinwood always opposed the sale. Finally the directors became convinced that Dr. Ellinwood did not intend to use the bequest for the benefit of the college. He was asked for a final answer. It was not satisfactory and he was dismissed from the

presidency. The last vestige of his authority was removed yesterday, when the sign bearing his name was taken from the building. . . .

Dr. Ellinwood is not without supporters. Reuben Lloyd, who, with Thomas I. Bergin, was an executor of Mrs. Lane's will, said yesterday that Dr. Ellinwood was being maliciously assailed. Lloyd asserted that both he and Bergin were convinced that the bequest was intended purely as a gift to Dr. Ellinwood.

"The will of Mrs. Lane was as plain and concise a document as I have seen," said Lloyd. "There can be no doubt as to the intention of Mrs. Lane. She intended the bequest as a pure gift to Dr. Ellinwood. The truth is that Dr. Ellinwood has given liberally from his own pocket for the college, and now the men whom he has aided have turned against him."

The Cooper directors expressed deep regret yesterday that the situation had come to such an unpleasant conclusion. They are men who have grown gray in the service of the college. They have given their time and they have given from their abundant knowledge for the advancement of medical science. They have not derived financial profit from their connection with the institution or from their friendship with Dr. Lane.

The following are excerpts from an article appearing in the *San Francisco Call* of February 23, 1907:

Dr. Ellinwood's published strictures upon Dr. Taylor as a probable preventive of the negotiations to merge Cooper College with Stanford University are not taken seriously by the Cooper directorate or faculty. Dr. Taylor, as vice president of the college, will remain in charge of the college until the July election. As a member of the board he will participate in the negotiations for affiliating Cooper with Stanford. He is a brilliant and active man, and the fact of his having written poetry of high merit is held, among his associates, as a matter of personal ability rather than the subject for an ill-advised fling. What bearing his personality may have upon the Stanford negotiations is held as immaterial, according to Dr. Gibbons, who said:

"If Dr. Taylor is *persona non grata* with any interest at Stanford it cannot affect our tendering as a gift an institution with property worth three-quarters of a million dollars. And besides Cooper College the tender includes Lane Hospital and much outside property."

The Stanford negotiations were in the hands of a committee consisting of Drs. Ellinwood, Ophüls, and Stillman. Ellinwood, says the dean

of the faculty, never made a report as to how the negotiations were progressing. Since the present controversy arose, the Stanford matter has been delegated to the whole board of directors and it expects to accomplish results.

Following are a few excerpts from a lengthy article appearing in the February 21, 1907, issue of the *San Francisco Call*:

. . . Dr. Lane having predeceased his wife, all of his property became Mrs. Lane's by virtue of his will made in the manner before mentioned. Mrs. Lane thereupon made a new will, wherein, for the purpose of carrying out the wishes of the doctor and herself, and so that if possible the moral obligation of seeing to it that all of her property, not only that which she had in her own right but also that which she had derived from Dr. Lane by his will, should be received by the college, provided in her will that a third of her property should go to the college for the purpose of a library and the remaining two-thirds to a cousin of Dr. Lane, which cousin at this time was fully informed of the wishes of both Dr. Lane and his wife . . .

Out of all these great properties received by Dr. Ellinwood he has paid \$6000 for the purchase of 25,000 volumes of medical books (the New York Academy of Medicine, from whom the purchase was made in the name of Cooper College, greatly favoring the educational institution in the matter of price); and even as to this purchase Dr. Ellinwood exacted as a condition that the college should pay the freight on the books from New York. Dr. Ellinwood has also paid \$8000 to lecturers in the Lane medical course, the total of his expenditures on behalf of the college amounting to scarcely more than the income derived from the properties received by him; he therefore today, so far as expenditures by him in the interest of the college are concerned, holds virtually intact all the moneys and properties received from Mrs. Lane's estate. . . .

There appears as new material in the matter of the estate of Pauline Lane two documents, both found in the Lane Library. Rather than quote all or parts of these long and involved legal papers, I give the sum and substance as follows: The executors of Mrs. Lane's will notified the Board of Directors of Cooper Medical College and C. N. Ellinwood that a sister of Mrs. Lane, with two children, was living in New York, and that W. M. Pierson, an attorney in San Francisco, was prepared

to make an appearance on behalf of these and contest the will of Mrs. Lane; he had, however, offered an amicable settlement for the sum of \$125,000. The directors of Cooper Medical College were advised by their attorney to effect a compromise, rather than have the will contested, and so did, for the sum of \$65,000, of which amount one-third was paid by the college, and two-thirds by Dr. C. N. Ellinwood.

No one is alive of the faculty of that time, nor are the lawyers. On asking Dr. Edward Sewall and Dr. H. Walter Gibbons (who graduated the year that Dr. and Mrs. Lane died), I find they had never heard at that time, nor later, of the existence of a sister of Mrs. Lane; my father at that time and later never mentioned it to me. The whole affair seems to have been kept a well-guarded secret.

After the rather long accounts in newspapers, Dr. Rixford's notes, and faculty meetings, it may be a relief to the reader to turn to a description of some of the men whose stature in one way or another entitles them to special mention.

There is no question but that in giving a description of some of the men directly or indirectly responsible for what was later Cooper Medical College, we are dealing with "controversial" characters. Such a one was certainly Elias Samuel Cooper, whose nephew Levi Cooper Lane founded Cooper Medical College, endowed it, and supported it for the remainder of his life and beyond that, in reverence and loyalty to his uncle Elias Cooper. In such a paper as this, one can only give an outline of his career. His life, as well as that of some others of that day, would lend itself to a full-sized book. He was disliked; he was not trusted; many of his characteristics and doings offended men who later became violent opponents of him in every respect. But there was no denying his great ability and his tremendous working power. One must remember that all men of great stature in those days of a rapidly growing and in many ways uncultured community had to fight their way with little regard for anyone else's feeling in order to reach the place they were entitled to—by one method or another. He was born in 1822

and commenced medical studies as a boy of sixteen; with an M.D. in 1841 from the University of St. Louis. Like a good many other medical degrees granted in those days, it is a question as to whether even that M.D. would stand inspection at that period. He commenced practice in Danville, Illinois, and from the very beginning was recognized as a highly competent surgeon. He seems to have done about every bit of surgery that was possible—orthopedic surgery as well as ophthalmology. He lectured on anatomy and was accused of being a gravedigger in order to get his material. He had to leave, finally, bitterly attacked with handbills stating, "Rally to the rescue of the graves of your friends." He was prosecuted for dissection and honorably acquitted. The anti-Cooper men of his community issued the handbill just quoted. The town's paper, however, on his leaving said, "We know few men of his profession more worthy of the high reputation he has acquired by his ability. We congratulate our friends of Oregon and California at the happy advantage they have of receiving among them a medical man of such capacity."

Cooper arrived in San Francisco in 1855 when its population was 56,000 and that of California 360,000. A man of whom his nephew wrote, "I have never seen such devotion as a student who retired at 3 or 4 in the morning and rose from 7 to 8," had no difficulty in immediately asserting himself and in constantly organizing and publishing. His free use of alcohol on instruments and on parts of the body operated upon was in advance of his time. He twice ligated the arteria innominata, removed repeatedly ovarian tumors, and had excised the head of the os femoris four times. He was especially adept in the eye operations of that period and the rectification of clubfoot. He opened diseased joints by free incision, popularized metallic sutures for uniting fractures, and freely exposed the thoracic cavity by rib excision. Twice he successfully performed Caesarean section. In those days of quick animosity, he was finally sued, the suit serving to split the medical profession into friends and enemies of Cooper. As a verdict could not be reached in twenty-four hours, the case was dismissed.

For four years to come, this case resounded through the medical press of the *Pacific Medical and Surgical Journal*, edited by his detractor, Dr. Wooster, and responded to by Cooper in the *San Francisco Medical Press*, of which he was editor.

Shortly after his arrival in San Francisco in 1855, he established Dr. Cooper's Eye, Ear and Feet Clinic at 14 Sansome Street. It was advertised extensively; he quickly developed a following and rode roughshod over many good men who accused him of self-aggrandizement. "Ethical irregularity" was a dubious affair in those days, and a man with a driving zeal, who carried within him a great ambition and who had to teach, must from our present point of view not be judged too harshly. As Harris says, "While no one described him as prepossessing, yet he succeeded through an ability approaching greatness in holding the loyalties of Rowell and Cole and in a lesser way in winning the regard of his fellow Quaker, the unimpeachable Gibbons." The devotion of Lane to Dr. Cooper is to me the most striking evidence of the uncle's real greatness and character. Uncle and nephew were entirely congenial and Lane was devoted to the older man. I doubt that this would have been the case if Lane had not known, throughout all the struggles of his uncle and the frequent condemnation of his proceedings, that essentially whatever he did was done with the viewpoint of improving conditions, both surgically and medically, in the community in which he exerted such a power.

As death approached, a bit of the early Quaker austerity reappeared. He desired neither headstone nor epitaph to mark his last resting place. Perhaps, had he been able to return from the shades when his nephew's career was closed, his greatest happiness would have been to hear the city's leading Protestant divine, the Reverend Stebbins, declare: "Dr. Lane—gentleman, scientific man, scholar, philanthropist."

Besides Cooper and Lane, there is a family so outstanding in the history of Cooper Medical College and before that time that again a separate book could be written. I refer to the Gibbons family. Henry Gibbons, M.D., 1808 to 1884, was the son of Dr. William Gibbons,

of old Quaker stock. He remembered as a boy the apparatus made of a tube of cedar and like a funnel at one end, unused by his father, which reposed in a box labeled "stethoscope." When his father was off in the woods seeing sick neighbors, Henry did what he could with the patients who called at the doctor's home. There were, after all, certain sound indications for blood letting and wet cupping! As a medical student, Henry had not infrequently let sixteen ounces of blood flow from his veins and felt refreshed on the following morning. He entered the University of Pennsylvania, graduated in 1829, and had seventeen years of practice at Wilmington. Attracted by the magical descriptions of a western El Dorado, he shipped by way of Panama. Six feet tall, thin, of dark eyes and hair, sedately dressed, he began thirty-four years of service to the people about him, a people who were bewildered, wealth-mad, and socially unintegrated. No man in the profession excelled Gibbons in zeal for medical organization, and his value is evidenced in the records of the many societies that he graced and served—the State Board of Health and the Board of Examiners—and he eventually gave the local profession one of the best of America's medical journals. With his worthy son, Henry, Jr., at his side as junior editor, he would work into the early morning hours. As says Harris,

It was a labor of love, without monetary compensation, a true form of spiritual expression. Were the mails delayed or a paper crowded out, he apologized to the author. Were a paper particularly poor, he apologized to the readers. The Academy of Sciences, the Mercantile Library, the Society of Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, and the State Prison Commission knew his presence by service. He never relented in his campaign against alcohol. Not being a fanatic, his compassion for the drunkard amounted even to a fault.

In San Francisco he left behind the Gibbons' tradition of medical service, a tradition continued now into the fifth generation. His son, Henry Gibbons, Jr., who served from the beginning of Cooper Medical College in 1882 as Dr. Lane's greatest supporter until and after Lane's death, I remember well. He was

the outstanding dean of the school for numerous years, a man beloved by every doctor and patient in the community, as well as by every student with whom he came in contact. Much that has been said about the father can be applied to the son: gentle in manner, yet very firm in his devotion to the right and in bitter opposition to the wrong. Cooper Medical College would, even with Lane at its head, not have succeeded as it did without Dr. Henry Gibbons, Jr. His two sons, Morton and Henry Walter, dear friends of mine, again gave devoted service to Cooper Medical College and later to Stanford Medical School, both distinguished by their absolute honesty and morality in every medical and any other enterprise with which they were connected. Finally, I had the pleasure of having the sons of both Henry and Morton as medical students in the class which I was privileged to teach. There are not many families, in medicine or any other profession, that can boast—but do not—of such a record.

In this school of which the founder, Dr. Lane, had died in 1902, a group was left, friendly with each other, but all men of self-will and strong character; a leaven was needed. This leaven was fortunately present, exerting its kindly, thoughtful, moderating, and scholastic influence in the person of William Ophüls, professor of pathology. Ophüls was the first full-time man obtained by Dr. Lane in 1898. He was a graduate of Göttingen and Würzburg, and from the very beginning of his activity he was recognized not only by the Cooper faculty but by the students and medical profession in general as the last word in pathology and was so known for many years in the city in which he made his home. The keen judgment of the older members of the faculty immediately recognized a man of deep scholarly training, of never-ending patience, of logical thinking, and of no prejudices; a man who made no enemies, who taught with the thoroughness of Germanic science, and whom all students thoroughly respected. He later in his career was an ideal dean. Any problem brought to him was wisely adjusted. He was perhaps the most respected of all the faculty by students, staff, and outside colleagues. His work

during the plague years in San Francisco was outstanding. There had been two opposing groups regarding the plague. Even while new cases were discovered monthly in San Francisco's Chinatown and the totals finally showed 40 deaths out of 42 Chinese patients, 3 deaths out of 4 Japanese patients, and 5 deaths out of 6 white patients, there were still statements made on the part of the governor of the state, supported by big business, large railroad systems, the San Francisco Board of Trade, the Chamber of Commerce, and so forth, that there was no plague. Worst of all were the equivocal statements of a subversive State Board of Health, which from time to time tried to say that, while "the plague was here once, it is not here now." Local medical organizations had remained sane and sound during this exceptional politico-medical squabble. The San Francisco Medical Society had been convinced of the menace by its fellow members, Ophüls, Ryfkogel, Kellogg, and Montgomery. It was Ophüls, in particular, whose advice and influence were constantly exerted in the right direction. As a little personal example indicating both Dr. Ophüls' wisdom and wit, it happened that, when social service was inaugurated in the person of a kindly, small lady to whom we workers in the clinic were supposed to refer patients who presented the appearance of affluence, a very smartly dressed and bejeweled young lady requested my services. I told the social-service worker that she did not rate as a clinic patient. After a moment's conversation with her, the social-service worker told me that I was mistaken. The young lady was really indigent. "Why, Mrs. X," I said, "look at her. My young wife can't afford such clothes." "That doesn't mean anything," she retorted indignantly. "She's just married and spent all her money on her trousseau." This seemed a sufficiently good reason to Mrs. X why I should give the young lady my knowledge, such as it was, and time, without a fee. As I could not see it that way, I refused, was reported to Dr. Ophüls, and went up to the laboratory to see him. He looked me over with an indulgent smile for a moment and then said, "Yes, I know you're quite right; but I can see the tail is going to wag the dog

very soon. So be a good boy and attend to her." Which I did.

Social service has done much good but has also obtained great power since that time; Dr. Ophüls had made a correct diagnosis from a microscopic specimen. What was done about the indigent before those days? As none of the attending doctors were on salary, they did the culling out themselves fairly and expeditiously, I believe, with no reams of paper work and overhead expense—each using his own method. I remember Dr. A. B. McKee, my father's successor, my chief in the eye clinic when I started, saying to me, "Your father had a very simple way. He would stop before a man with an ornate tie-pin and gold watch chain and good suit and say, 'My man, whom do you wish to see?'" If he said, 'Dr. Adolph Barkan,' your father would say, 'My office card,' and in quiet dignity hand it to him." I sometimes wonder whether the present methods are really much more efficient.

As the son—myself—approaches his father's connection with Cooper Medical College, he can do no better than quote from the paper entitled "The Barkan Library of the History of Medicine and Natural Science Books" by Charles D. O'Malley.

Adolph Barkan (1845-1935) was a native of Hungary, a product of the European classical gymnasium, the Universities of Vienna and Zürich, in which latter institution he had been a pupil of Billroth. In his boyhood he had had the ambition of some day going to California, an ambition which he fulfilled upon the completion of his medical studies, arriving in San Francisco in 1869, where he at once established himself as a medical specialist in eye, ear, nose, and throat. In December 1872 he joined the faculty of the Medical College of the Pacific, the vestiges of which later became the Cooper Medical College, remaining on the faculty into the school's final incarnation as the medical department of Stanford University until his retirement in 1912. Dr. Barkan was a constant and generous benefactor of the library. However, he was himself neither book collector nor bibliophile except for his own extensive library on eye, ear, nose and throat, and until his endowment of the medical history collection he had never displayed, at least manifestly, any interest in the history of his profession. Nevertheless, it is possible that as the product of

European training, constantly in touch with the latest developments of European medicine, he may have been influenced in some degree by the interest in the history of medicine which as a systematic discipline had its inception in Europe somewhat earlier than in the United States.

Despite his early desire to go to California, and through the many years which he passed in San Francisco, Dr. Barkan remained culturally a European, and upon retirement from the teaching and practice of medicine, he removed to Europe where he spent most of the remainder of his life. Yet despite his greater sympathy with the culture of that continent—due, as it appears, in large degree to the accessibility and frequency of fine music, his major nonmedical interest—he still retained the greatest interest in his former medical school and continued his beneficence, now of a somewhat transatlantic nature. It was soon after his retirement and establishment in Germany that he wrote a letter to Dr. William Ophüls, at the time dean of the medical school, telling how he had arrived at his decision to promote the development of a medical history library in the Lane Medical Library:

"In 1919-1920 I was very much interested in reading some of the early volumes of several archives. I was impressed with the large measure of gratitude which we owe to the great men who have left us these records of scientific investigation. After several conferences with your sister I conceived the idea of adding an historical part to the Ophthalmological collection. I submitted this (idea) to Frederick Müller (in Munich) and he referred me to Professor Sudhoff. His first communication recommended urgently that I postpone any effort along the special lines in favor of an institute for the history of medicine in general. This fundamental idea was primarily that of Professor Sudhoff."

Dr. Barkan's extraordinary but customary enthusiasm and energy made themselves apparent in his next letter addressed to Dr. Ophüls:

"Instead of a collection on the history of ophthalmology and otology as I had thought, I am for giving up this idea in favor of the foundation of a department of the history of medicine in general for the Lane Medical Library. To this could be added in course of time a seminar, a museum especially for 'Pacifica,' in short an institute like the one in Leipzig; after this subject has been taken up in the curriculum as a teaching proposition and also has been used for the subject of some of the theses. I have seen the relatively small special libraries on the history of medicine of Dr. Sigerist and Dr. Klebs which have inspired this idea in me."

O'Malley, after a full description of my father's interest in the library and his obtaining of various libraries in Europe to be added to the Lane Library collection and an account of his donations for that purpose, says:

In such fashion was the historical library formed and well named for Dr. Barkan as a tribute to an idealism fully supported by an energy and a generosity which, as will appear, were to be further emphasized in succeeding years.

During this period, and, indeed, for many years to follow, Dr. Barkan continued to be the guiding genius and generous patron of the collection.

My father was appointed professor of ophthalmology and otology in 1872 and served as such until ten years after Lane's death in 1902, being the faculty member of longest continuous service after the death of Dr. Henry Gibbons, Jr., in 1911. His teaching of ophthalmology established a definite school of men trained as highly in this specialty as was possible in this country. As a lecturer, he was accounted one of the very top men of his generation. His devotion to his clinic and to the institute and always to Dr. Lane never ceased. In spite of devoting a third or fourth of his days and evenings to Cooper Medical College, he acquired a great private practice. Coming to San Francisco at a time when only one or two other men knew anything about ophthalmology except the rudiments, patients came to him from everywhere up and down the Pacific Coast and continued to so come. He had a very gentle hand and an artistic way of operating on an eye, with which a definite temperament rather than his studies had endowed him. There was very little in the general literature of civilized nations that he had not read. Music was to him what to some other man a deep religious conviction might have been.

Roy Parkinson in his *Eye, Ear, Nose and Throat Practitioners in San Francisco Previous to 1900*, a series of charming little biographical essays, has this to say of him:

An outstanding figure in Ophthalmology on the Pacific Coast was Dr. Adolph Barkan and the following is a resumé of the main features concerning his illustrious career. Dr. Barkan was

born in Eperies, a little town near Buda-Pesth. He studied in Vienna and was interested from childhood up for some unconscious reason in the eye and in the blind. His bosom friend as a student and the man at whose house he later met his wife, was Professor Czerney, the famous Heidelberg surgeon. As students they did some experimental work together in testing the blanching of the retinal pigment on exposure to light. He learned his first English by exchange lessons in language with a young American in Vienna, and decided at that time to come to America. He was a very poor boy and very musical and often had to choose between the opera and supper. Oftentimes the opera was chosen as a preference. He went to Philadelphia and assisted a prominent ophthalmologist whose name is not known and then came direct to San Francisco. Here he practiced in a tiny office in which he also slept, the location of which was over the one reputable drug store and next to a Turkish Bath establishment. Due to his competence patients flocked from many hundreds of miles around the territory of San Francisco. In the first seven years he built a very large practice which remained large until his retirement at the age of 65 in 1910. During this time he took frequent trips to Europe. Dr. Lane engaged him as the head of the Eye Department of Cooper Medical College which chair he held up to the time of his retirement. It must be said as an evidence of his great interest in his specialty that he established the Barkan Eye and Ear division of the Lane Medical Library. He was an excellent pianist and as a younger man this was his greatest recreation. Sports were unknown to him. He took his pleasure in music at home and in concerts and enjoyment of his rough woodland home in Mill Valley. He retired from active practice and teaching in 1910 and has so lived that at present writing he has reached the age of 89 and is enjoying most of the normal pleasures of European life. Like all men who have been a big success he was often unconscious of minor details or of the feelings of men under and around him. He was universally respected as a man and admired as an Ophthalmologist. He was the first in San Francisco to remove intraocular foreign bodies by aid of the magnet, and was also one of the first to employ the Schwartze-Stacke mastoid operation. . . . Dr. Barkan's contribution to medical literature was very extensive, apparently more so than any other writer in this specialty in California.

Unless this paper is to be of inordinate length, one has to omit the personal descrip-

tions of a number of good, although not outstanding, men associated with Cooper Medical College. I, however, find it impossible to leave out Dr. Albert Abrams because he was the one internationally known figure—for a short time—who did *not* reflect credit on Cooper Medical College.

Certainly the most picturesque, even though later the most unsavory, character in the faculty was Albert Abrams (1863-1924). Born in San Francisco, graduated in Heidelberg at nineteen, and in Cooper Medical College in 1883, precocious, of facile pen, of exceptional intelligence and productivity and of consuming ambition, he taught internal medicine and held the rank of professor of pathology from 1893 to 1898. His publications were numerous; his *Diseases of the Heart* held the ranking place in textbooks on that subject. His outstanding contribution was perhaps his demonstration of the value of the X-ray in cardiac diagnosis. Just what happened within Abrams is unknown. His greed for money was notorious, his vanity and self-approval evident in the effusive tone of his diary. Flaxman, in his interesting article on Abrams, feels that in spite of the denial made by him of his unusual interest in monetary returns, one cannot help but feel that the later career expressed by the *Electronic Reactions of Abrams* was a direct attempt to cash in on his notoriety. In 1910 his book on *Spondylotherapy* appeared. His disciples called it the science of evoking the reflexes of the body both as to diagnosis and cure of disease. In 1916 he presented his new concepts in *Diagnosis and Treatment; Physiochemical Medicine* and founded the *Journal of Electronic Medicine*, himself editing the first six volumes.

The diagnostic technique consisted in placing a drop of the patient's blood in a box called a "dynamizer" containing a "jungle of wires, batteries and a rheostat." The dynamizer was provided with an electrode which was placed on the forehead of a healthy subject—often this was his chauffeur—facing west in a dim light. From areas of dullness elicited by percussion of the healthy subject's abdomen, Abrams attained the diagnosis of either disease or religion. If this sounds ab-

surd, consider the therapeusis of sympathetic vibrations supplied from another box, the oscilloclast; as adjuvants, vividly colored ointments supposedly of a certain radio activity were smeared over the patient's abdomen. My friend, Dr. Arthur Fisher, remembers such patients coming into the outpatient department of Cooper Medical College in those days. The oscilloclast was rented to all comers, M.D.'s and others, at \$200 or \$250, plus monthly payments of \$5 for each machine. It was not sold—only leased—with a definite understanding that the machine was not to be opened by the lessee. In a few pages of eulogy by Upton Sinclair, one reads: "The average charge is about \$200 for a guaranteed cure of such diseases as syphilis, tuberculosis, cancer, and sarcoma." The *Scientific American*, after a year's investigation, concluded: "At best it is an illusion; at worst, it is a colossal fraud."

At the height of the controversy, Abrams died a rich man in 1924. Harris, in *The California Medical Story*, sums him up as: "A tangential colleague possessing the boastfulness of Paracelsus, the self-deception of the alchemist, the alertness, tenacity, and ruthlessness of the robber barons—the observing neurologists, thinking of fixity of ideas, expanded ego and his colored salves placed him among the mentally deranged."

Dr. Levi Cooper Lane, whom Dr. Jordan held in high regard, was opposed to any union with Stanford University previous to 1900 as he was now building up his institution with as complete equipment as his means and his unselfish and devoted faculty could make possible. The Cooper Medical College properties were now valued at close to a million dollars. It was not long, however, before extraordinary expenses were being incurred by the college as it continued to keep its laboratories and clinical facilities on a par with the best medical schools in the United States. More expense was involved when the college acquired some full-time professors, and it was soon evident that new sources of support must be sought. Since the Cooper authorities were definitely averse to any connections with their old rival, the Medical Department

of the University of California, they began turning to Stanford University. In 1901 the subject of a union between these two schools was discussed. On October 30, 1901, Dr. Jordan wrote:

As to the possibilities of organic union, should this be considered desirable by the Cooper Medical College, I may say that we would strongly favor it if it were practicable. . . . Our main difficulty is this: We are not ready to incur the expense of a salaried faculty; we do not think it is wise to begin without one.

Dr. Lane was beginning to believe that his college would be more secure if it united with Stanford University. Just before his death on February 9, 1902, he made it possible for his trustees to exercise their own judgment in relation to the future of the college. After Dr. Lane's death, Dr. Jordan entered into correspondence with Dr. Henry Gibbons, Jr., dean of the Cooper Medical College. At this time Dr. Clarence Blake of the Harvard medical faculty was asked to outline what a medical school of the future should be in regard to hospitals, organization, equipment, management, and so forth.

It was not long before the Cooper College authorities, realizing that a large amount of Mrs. Lane's fortune was not to be available, no longer asked for a mere affiliation but instead offered a complete transfer of the college to Stanford University. On January 30, 1906, Dr. Jordan wrote of this new offer as follows:

. . . I am convinced that it is for the general interests of education that we should take charge of the Cooper Medical College, if it can be offered to us without any condition whatever except that we give instruction in medicine.

On February 20, 1906, Jordan wrote Ophüls:

. . . The great difficulty with us—and it tends to grow larger as we get nearer to it—is the question as to whether the University will be able to maintain the medical school as it ought to be maintained without cramping the engineering school and the library and other departments already established. I should not be surprised if our Trustees should find it necessary to let the matter lie over for some time until they know better than they do now just where they are.

Again Dr. Jordan wrote Dr. William Ophüls:

. . . I have recommended to our Board of Trustees the acceptance of the Cooper Medical College property on the condition we could use it, at least for the present, as a school of medical research. . . . Mr. Davis tells me that the authorities of Cooper Medical College do not approve. . . . The case then remains a matter of financial ability. . . . If it would result in crippling the instruction at Palo Alto, then it would be something we could not afford to undertake. . . . The action of the Board will probably depend upon the reports made by the Finance Committee when the matter is ready for final decision.

The financial obligation was the biggest stumbling block. Dr. Ophüls thought that the Lane Hospital and the medical school could be made nearly self-supporting. Dr. Jordan assumed that the reserve funds of the college could be counted on for building repair, and that the University bacteriology and pharmacology could be accommodated in the Quadrangle buildings on the Stanford campus.

Interesting enough, at this date of decision to move the medical school to the campus, are excerpts from the letters of two Trustees of Stanford University: Trustee Davis in September 1907 to Dr. Jordan:

I am glad, very glad, to see that you have concluded to favor the Cooper Medical College. I am so sure that we have got to have a medical institution in connection with our professional teaching that it seems to me an exceedingly favorable opportunity to get what we want.

On October 29, 1907, Trustee Timothy Hopkins wrote to Dr. Jordan:

My concurrence in the proposed acceptance of the Cooper College is dependent upon the amount of means we have left from our income after we have taken care of the establishment, development, and equipment of such departments as are needed to carry on the work we have already undertaken. The Finance Committee has stated that they think they can give the medical school \$25,000 at the end of five years. My own impression is that, while the medical school may get along for one or two years with this sum, in addition to such fees as may be collected from medical students, the pressure for the development of such a department will run

the net deficit of the school to \$50,000 or more. . . . Our income, unfortunately, is a fixed amount.

Finally, on January 13, 1908, the Board of Trustees adopted the transfer agreement by a vote of nine to two, with the following proviso:

That in case the needs of the proposed medical department, over and above its own separate income from medical students and other sources, should exceed \$25,000 per annum, the wants of other now existing departments shall have preference over such needs.

Under the arrangements adopted, the Cooper Medical College was to continue to function until it graduated all of its present students, which would be in 1912. Instruction in the medical course would begin at the University in 1910, and in 1912 Stanford would take full charge of all advanced and clinical instruction.

The medical faculty of the Stanford School of Medicine as chosen on October 30, 1908, follows: John Maxson Stillman, professor of chemistry; Arthur William Meyer, professor of human anatomy; Frank Mace McFarland, associate professor of histology; George Clinton Price, associate professor of zoology; William Freeman Snow, associate professor of hygiene; Robert Eckles Swain, associate professor of chemistry; and Oliver P. Jenkins, professor of physiology. These were already on the Stanford University faculty, some of them still the original appointments of Dr. Jordan to the first Stanford faculty. I cannot help but pick one out for a short story—Dr. Jenkins, of whom there was no kinder nor more forgetful man in any faculty of any university, for which I can personally vouch by the following example:

As he had forgotten that on a certain day he was due in San Francisco for his lecture, Mrs. Jenkins pressed his bicycle on him and said, "You can make the train if you hurry." Jenkins, absorbed in some other thought, walked from his home on the campus to the station pushing the bicycle along with him. As he reached the station, the last car of the northward-bound train was rattling past the redwood tree after which Palo Alto is named.

Jenkins, for the first time aware of the bicycle, tossed it against the station and exclaimed, "If it hadn't been for you, darn you, I'd have made that train!"

Appointed professors from the Cooper faculty were Henry Gibbons, Jr., professor of obstetrics; Adolph Barkan, professor of structure and diseases of the eye, ear, and larynx; Joseph Oakland Hirschfelder, professor of clinical medicine; Stanley Stillman, professor of surgery; Emmet Rixford, professor of surgery; William Ophüls, professor of pathology; William Fitch Cheney, clinical professor of diseases of the digestive system; and one outside appointment—Ray Lyman Wilbur, later to be dean of the school and after that President of the University, as professor of clinical medicine. And in 1910 to 1911 were added Albert Cornelius Crawford, professor of pharmacy; Hans Zinsser, associate professor of bacteriology; James Rollin Slonaker, associate professor of physiology; Clara S. Stoltenberg, associate professor of applied anatomy; Ernest Charles Dickson, associate professor of pathology.

On September 8, 1909, the instruction in medicine at the Stanford Medical School was formally inaugurated by an assembly in which the principal address was delivered by Dr. Henry Christian, dean of the Harvard Medical School.

It would be ungracious to the many excellent men serving on the Cooper faculty, most of whom gave of their time and efforts liberally to the new school, not to mention all of these connected with Cooper when Stanford took over.

The last annual announcement of Cooper Medical College, session of 1908-9, gives the faculty as A. Barkan, Henry Gibbons, Jr., Joseph O. Hirschfelder, A. M. Gardner, W. E. Wenzel, Stanley Stillman, Emmet Rixford, William Fitch Cheney, William Ophüls, George Houston, George B. Somers, Walter E. Garry, Frank E. Blaisdell, R. L. Rigdon, Frank P. Gray, H. W. Oliver, A. W. Hewlett, I. W. Thorne, Edward C. Sewall, F. E. Fitzgerald, Henry Harris, M. E. Rumwell, W. R. Dorr, Thomas Inman, David Hadden, J. B. Frankenheimer, W. R. P. Clark, Donald E. Smith, Joseph L. Howard, Herbert Gunn,

Emil Schmoll, Frank Fisher, Walter H. Winterberg, David Friedland, S. O. Beasley, F. C. Topping, Henry W. Gibbons, Morton Gibbons, Reginald Knight Smith, Sol Hyman, A. J. Rumwell, Langley Porter, Ernest Dwight Chapman, R. E. Pack, H. Spiro, Millicent Cosgrave, Francis Raynes, R. S. Martin, Carl L. Powers, Russell W. Creston, George B. Wilson, Howard Somers, Adolph Berg, L. S. Mace, H. I. Wiel, A. L. Fisher, and A. B. McConnell.

When Stanford took over, it acquired all the faculty I have mentioned. They were high-grade men, selected by Lane and his followers, and many of them—as, for instance, Langley Porter, Reginald Knight Smith, Edward Sewall, A. W. Hewlett, W. Ophüls, and Ernest Dickson—made careers known all over the country. The good will acquired was flawless; the school and hospital carried with them the affection and respect of the community. Stanford could not have done better medically; financially, as time went on, Timothy Hopkins was right. The school cost more to keep up than had been anticipated.

When I joined in 1915, only a few of the original professors of Cooper days were still active—and, as regards these, a few words. Albert Brown McKee, my chief in ophthalmology, was not a good administrator or lecturer, not a facile operator, but one of the best ophthalmologists I ever knew. He missed nothing, saw what the rest of us could not, had unerring clinical sense, and I, fresh from Vienna, learned more from him than I had thought possible. He was a bit gruff but with a heart of gold and unimpeachable fairness and rectitude. William Fitch Cheney was a polished gentleman of the old school, meticulous in dress and manner, prompt to the second, a careful clinician of the Osler school, and a sound bedside teacher. I have to this day a particularly warm spot for him, for he sent the young beginner his first consultation case. Rigdon, in genitourinary diseases, was a most kindly man, easy and considerate in his work and devoted to the teaching of his residents and to forwarding their careers. Somers, as superintendent of the hospital, was intent on small details of manage-

ment and savings, a clever gynecological operator, quiet and efficient. Ned Sewall was a splendid and original nose, throat, and ear operator, who went far beyond the field then known, and a stimulating chief for his staff. Stillman, Rixford, and Ophüls I have already sketched at greater length.

Meanwhile, the last Cooper Medical College annual catalogue and announcement had stated:

To insure the permanence, welfare and progress of its college, preliminary steps have been taken by which it will become eventually the Medical Department of Leland Stanford Junior University. It is anticipated that the University will require for admission to its Department of Medicine three years of premedical work, or the present first three years required of students having Physiology as a major subject. The first part of the course in medicine will be given at the University. The concluding years will be given at the present buildings of Cooper Medical College in San Francisco, these being devoted chiefly to clinical studies. Formal medical instruction is expected to begin at the University not later than 1910. Due notification will be given when the plan has been fully matured.

An announcement was published by the University, from which I quote:

Leland Stanford Junior University—Department of Medicine, founded as Cooper Medical College by Levi Cooper Lane—Preliminary Announcement—February 1909. In November 1908, under permission granted by Dr. Lane, Cooper Medical College with its valuable properties and equipment, was granted to the Leland Stanford Junior University on the sole condition that a school for the training of students for the degree of Doctor of Medicine be maintained and that certain memorials of the Founders be preserved. In accepting this generous gift, the University purposes to carry forward the aims and ideals of Cooper Medical College and to increase and extend the facilities and opportunities for medical education.

At this writing there is in the offing the next important step in the history of the Stanford Medical School, founded as Cooper Medical College by Levi Cooper Lane, namely, the transfer to the campus of its activities,

forty-odd years after acquiring Cooper Medical College. With this move there comes also the problem of the disposal of the old Cooper buildings and such new ones as have been constructed by Stanford University. It would seem a good time for some man—I could name several possibilities—to take pen in hand and write the history of the Stanford Medical School. This would then leave a free field for someone fifty years from now to write the history of the Stanford Medical School located on the Stanford campus. Whoever he may be, good luck to him; incidentally, it's good fun.

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